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BY

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To

THE SACRED MEMORY

of

THE LATE Mr. DAMODAR GORDHANDAS SUKHADWALLA,
AS A HUMBLE TOKEN

of

MY APPRECIATION OF HIS NOBLE GIFT

of

RUPEES ONE LAC

to

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

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PREFACE.

In this Volume, I collect all my papers, published from time to time, in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. Most of these were read in the premises of the Institute, either before the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnari Mandli, which meets there, or, before the Institute itself. One of these, *viz.*, that "A few Notes on Anquetil Du Perron's own copy of his Zend Avesta, L'Ouvrage de Zoroastre, recently discovered in Colombo," was read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The publication of these papers gives me pleasure for various reasons. I had the pleasure of enjoying for long the friendship of Mr. K. R. Cama, in whose honour the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute has been founded. His friendship had inspired me in his lifetime and his pious memory inspires me even now. Again, I have the pleasure of being associated with the Institute from its very foundation. After working for a number of years in the Committee formed at the Memorial meeting held in Mr. Cama's honour, at the Framji Cowasji Institute on 8th December 1909, under the Presidency of the then Governor of Bombay Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham), I have been associated with it in various capacities. I am one of its Trustees and a member of its Executive Committee from the very beginning. After the departure from Bombay of Rev. Dr. Mackichan who was its first President, I had the pleasure of being in the chair for one year and five months from 2nd December 1919 to 2nd May 1921. Since 1921, I have been acting as its Honorary Secretary and I have the satisfaction to know that since my association with it as Secretary I have collected a good sum for the Institute. I beg to thank all the ladies and gentlemen who have kindly responded to my appeals for membership and funds. I beg to thank the Executive Committee for all the help that it has given me in my Secretaryship, and I cannot sufficiently thank its President, Mr. Muncherji P. Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retired), for all the advice and guidance that he has been pleased to give me from time to time. He prefers to work behind the curtain and is a valuable asset of this Institute. Under all these pleasant circumstances, and with all the above associations, it gives me much pleasure, as said above, to publish this collection of papers that have appeared in the Journal of the Institute.

It gives me pleasure also to associate this publication with the name of the late Mr. Damodar Gordhandas Sukhadwalla, who, by kindly giving a munificent sum of Rupees one lac, facilitated and hastened the work of the foundation of the Institute. Mr. Sukhadwalla was a self-made man and he made the best use possible of what little wealth he had by God's grace acquired. There are several libraries founded by him in Bombay and elsewhere; and to all of them, keeping himself in the back-ground, he gave the names of other great and good public men, who had been useful to Bombay in various ways.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

211, Pilot Bunder Road,

COLABA, BOMBAY,

28*th July* 1928.

AN OLD AVESTA-PAZEND—SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT OF THE SAROSH-HADOKHT, AND ITS WRITER.

I.

The manuscript under notice is dated 1064 Yazdazardi (1695 A. C.) and belongs to Mr. Burjorji Ardeshir Entee, ex-Professor of Persian at the Bhownagar College. At my request, he has kindly presented it to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. It is a well-preserved manuscript, written on good old paper. Its length is 9½ inches, breadth 6½ inches, thickness 3/16 of an inch. It has 24 folios, not marked by the original writer, but, somebody has recently figured them in Gujarati, wrongly from the left to the right, instead of from the right to the left. I have recently numbered the pages in English figures commencing from the right.

It bears the following Persian colophon at the end on the 47th page, the next page containing stray verses in Persian in a different hand, written not in any regular order, but haphazard.

تمام شد سروش یشت ها دوخت بروز فرخ دیپمهر ایزد و بماه
مبارک وهمن امشاسفند و بگاه میمنت او زیرون و در سال مانوس یکهزار
و شصت و چهار از شاهان شاه یزدجرد شهریار از ملوک ایران زمین
یزدان گام باد راقم الحروف هیربد زاده هیربد رستم هیربد خورشید
هیربد اسپندیار هیربد رستم ساکن قصبه فرخنده نوساري و این
سروش یشت ها دوخت با معنی در بندر مبارک سورت تحریر یافت
هرکه خواند یا آموزد این [1] احقر را بخوبی یاد آرد

نبشتم من ندانم تا که خواند ∴ منم بیشک بمیرم این بماند

Just over the colophon, written crosswise, runs the following line, repeating the personal name of the writer:—

رستم تو این نوشتي بیشک شدي بهشتي رستي ز راه زشتي

TRANSLATION.

(This) Sarosh Yasht Hâdokht is finished on the auspicious day (*roz*) Depmeher Yazad, and in the auspicious month (*mah*) Vahman (Bahmhn) Amshasfand, and in the auspicious time (gâh) Auziravan, and in the auspicious year one thousand

[1] Miswritten for *huqir*.

and sixty and four from Emperor Yazdajard Shehryar of the Kings of the land of Persia. May it be according to God's will. The writer of these words (is) Haêrbad Zâdeh Haêrbad Rustam, Haêrbad Khurshid, Haêrbad Aspandyâr, Hairbad Rustam, an inhabitant of the ioi mate town of Naosari. And this Sarosh Yasht Hadokht with its meaning has been written in the fortunate port of Surat. Whoever reads or learns (from this) may remember with goodness this humble person.

I do not know who will read this writing. I have no doubt that I will die, but this (writing or this reader) will live.

Rustam! You, wrote this. There is no doubt, you have (thereby) gone to Paradise. You have saved yourself from the path of evil.

II.

The writer Ervad Rustam Khurshid is the Rustam Khurshid Aspandyâr, who, in 1670 had written to Persia, asking for replies to a number of questions on religious matters[1] and whose questions and replies are known as Rustam Khurshed Aspandyar's *Revayet*.[2] In the reply from Persia, he is addressed as a Dastur. He was a well-known member of the clergy of Naosari. We find his name as that of one of the signatories of a document, passed by the Naosari clergy to the laity, dated 1687 A. D., permitting to the latter a freedom of choice in the selection of their family priests.[3]

---

1 Parsi Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 16.

2 K. R. Cama Memorial Vol., p. 174.

3 Parsi Prakâsh Vol., p. 847. This document of 1687 throws some side-light on the Mahomedan rule over Naosari at this time. In case of a possible breach of the terms of the agreement, the clergy bind themselves to give, as penalty, Rs. 400 to the *divân i.e.*, to the treasury of the ruling Powers, and, in addition, to present 50 maunds of oil to the Mahomedan Masjid of the place. It is at times complained that some Parsis of the last century occasionally took superstitious vows to present offerings to Mahomedan and Christian places of worship. One may say, that the practice may possibly have originated from cases like the above. When the people saw that the clergy offered oil to Mahomedan mosques as a penalty for, or in expiation of, their faults, they followed their example and gave offerings to these places of worship. The fact, that the clergy gave the offerings under compulsion according to the terms of an agreement made with their Mahomedan rulers, in whose courts the agreements had to be enforced, may have been forgotten. What was, at one time, an expiation for a kind of state penalty, was latterly extended ignorantly to social or religious penalties.

This Rivâyet of Rustam Khurshid Aspandyâr is referred to in the Darab Hormuzdyâr's Rivâyet at the end. (Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala's Lithographed text Vol. II, pp. 475-590). We read therein:—

پرشات کہ پیربد زادہ پیربد رستم ابن خورشید بن اسفندیار
نوشتہ بود بتاریخ یوم پاک آذر ماہ فرخ خورداد سال اور ہزار و سي
وہشت فرستادہ بود پاسخ نوشتہ شد (*Ibid*, p. 477, ll. 15-17.)

TRANSLATION.

The questions which Herbad-Zâdeh Herbad Rustam, son of Khurshed, son of Asfandyâr, had written (and) had sent on the date, the holy day Âzar, the auspicious month Khurdâd, year one thousand and thirty and eight (1038), have been (thus) replied to.

The date and the place of the reply are given as follows:—

بتاریخ روز دیپدین فیروزگر ماہ فرخ دی قدیم سنہ ۱۰۳۹
فارسی تحریر شد شہر ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۰۸۱ ہجري در شہر کرمان
نوشتہ شد والدعاء (*Ibid*, p. 480, l. 2.)

i.e., written on the auspicious day Daêpdin, auspicious month Daê *qadimi* (ancient), year 1039 Parsi, Hijri month Rabi'-ul-awal year 1081. Written in the city of Kerman. Farewell!

III.

The method of the colophons of old Parsi manuscripts is, to a certain extent, as it were, a counter-part or copy of the method of the Dibâchê [1] or preface of the Afringâns, which contains the following :—

1. The name of the town where the liturgical service of the "Âfringân" is performed.

2. The time (gâh), and the day, at and on which it is performed.

[1] The Persian word *dibâchê* is made up of "*dibâ*" a rich kind of stuff or cloth, and *chê* which is a diminutive particle. So, *dibâchê* would mean "a small *dibâ* or rich cloth." The Preface of a book, which gives the name of the writer, the date of the book, the name of the place of its publication, the purpose for which it is written, the name of the person, if any, at whose bidding it is written, &c., is the principal or rich part of stuff (dibâ) of the book. Hence its name *dibâchê*.

3. The name of the person, in whose honour or memory it is performed.

4. The name of the person, at whose direction (farmâyashnê) it is performed.

The colophons of old Parsi manuscripts also generally give all these. But they differs from the " Dibâché " of the Âfringâns in this, that they generally come at the end and not in the beginning. In this they follow another method.

The recital of the *roz* (day), the *mâh* (month) and even the *gâh* (one of the five Zoroastrian periods of the day) in the colophons of Parsi manuscripts, is, as it were, a counterpart of the prayer-formula of "Roz nek-nâm, roz pâk-nâm," recited by the Parsees in their Nyâishes, Yashts, etc., wherein the day, the month and the time of the day when the prayers are recited are mentioned. Again, just as the prayer-formulas come at the end of prayers, so, the colophons[1] come at the end of manuscripts. They served, to some limited extent, the purpose of the title-pages of modern books, but generally occurred at the end, or sometimes in the middle of a book.

IV.

Now coming to the manuscript itself, we find that it is Avesta—Pahlavi—Sanskrit Sarosh Hâdokht Yasht. The late Ervad Sheriârjee Dadabhâi Bharucha, who had, at the instance of the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Fund and Properties, prepared a series of seven parts of the Sanskrit writings on the subject of the Parsi religion, five of which have been published, has included the Sanskrit of this Yasht in his Part I Khorde Avesta—Arthah. In the preparation of his Sanskrit text, he had access to the following old manuscripts :—

1. An old Manuscript (E. M. U.) belonging to the late Ervad Manockjee R. Unwala, dated roz 12, Mah 1, Samvant 1760 (A. C. 1703), and written by the well-known Dastur, Dastur Darab Pâhlan of Naosari. Ervad Sheriarjee speaks of its Sanscrit as " defective and incorrect " (Introduction p. IX).

[1] One must remember, that the very derivation of the word gives an idea of something at the end. Colophon was one of the 12 cities of Ionia. It possessed a good cavalry which was generally kept in reserve to be employed at the end. Some say, that it was the characteristic of the city, that whenever in union with other sister cities, it went to war, it was the last to send its army to the field. Hence the meaning of the word, as something coming at the end.

2. Another old manuscript belonging to Ervad Manockjee R. Unwalla (E. M. U.2) written in about 1808, Samvant (A. C. 1751).

Ervad Sheriarjee while referring to this manuscript in his note (No. 285) says " This Sanskrit of the Sarosh Yasht--i Hadohkt is found only in one manuscript. It seems to be the attempt of some unknown incompetent person, not Nerioseng himself, for it betrays in many places gross ignorance of Avesta, Pahlavi and Sanskrit" (Notes p. 15). While writing this note, Ervad Sheriarjee seems to have forgotten that he himself has referred to a second manuscript (E. M. U.) on p. IX. The present Manuscript then is the third manuscript of the Sanskrit Sarosh Hâdokht Yasht, that has come to our notice. While the above two manuscripts, referred to by Ervad Sheriarjee, are dated 1703 and 1751 respectively the one under notice is dated 1695, *i.e.*, written about eight years before the first of these two. So it is a valuable acquisition. I leave it to Sanskrit scholars to determine whether its Sanskrit is better than that of the texts of E. M. U.[12] given by Ervad Sheriarjee in his Part I.

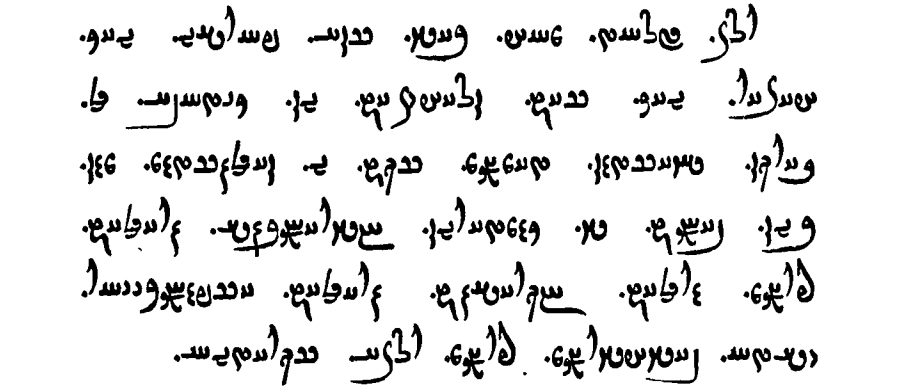
I conclude, by thanking my friend Mr. Burjorjee Ardeshir Entee for complying with my request to present it to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute.

AN OLD MANUSCRIPT OF THE KITÂB-I DARÛN YASHT.

[A paper read before the Zarthoshti Din-ni Khol Karnâris Mandli, on 24th June 1921.]

Introduction.

Mr. Jamsetjee Edalji Saklatwâlâ has recently, at my request, presented to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute an old manuscript bearing the above title. It is about 9½ inches in length, 6 inches in breadth and a little over an inch and a half in thickness. It has 176 folios with 15 lines to a page. It is written in Avesta characters with the ritual in Gujarâti, written in an inverted way, *i.e.*, the manuscript is turned upside down when the Gujarati portion is written. The colophon in Avesta characters on folio 171b gives the date as roz Goâd, mâh Daê, sna (year) Pârshi 1119, and the writer's name as Ervad Farâm Ervad Khurshed Ervad Aspandyâr Ushtâ Baêherâm Frâmroz Suratiâ. The colophon runs thus :—



Translation.—This book of Darun Yasten [1] was completed (on) roz Goâd, mâh Daê, Parsi year one thousand one hundred and nineteen. I wrote this—I, the servant [2] of religion, humble thinker of good, Ervad Frâm, Ervad Khurshed, Ervad Aspendyâr, ushtâ Baeherâm, Frâmroz [3] Suratiâ.

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1 The letter 'va' between this and the preceding word is an error.

2 The last letter ê ⁽ is unnecessarily separated from *band*.

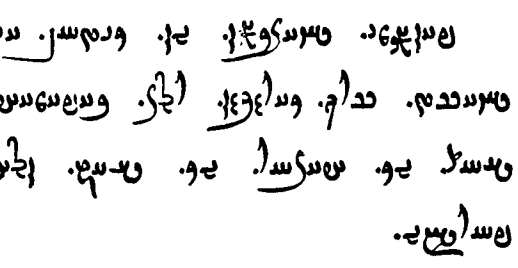
3 The word is unnecessarily divided into Fram and roz.

The Persian colophon in Avesta characters is preceded by a Gujrati colophon which is to be read from down below upwards (f. 172 a). It reads thus :—

સંવત ૧૮૦૬ નાં વરષે રોજ ગોઆદ માહા દેએ [1] સરાવણ ૬ સૂદ સનીસર તા. એ પુસ્તક બાજ ધરવાતણુ સમાપત. મોબેદ ફરામ એ. ખુરશેદ અસપંદીઆર બેહેરામ ફરામરોજ અજ નસલ મોવદ હમજીઆર એરવદ રામીઆ. એ પુસ્તક સમાપ્ત.

એ ફરામ ખુરસદજીએ રવાએતમાંથી લખુઙં છે તેનો ઉતારો ઉતારિઓ છે. જેવું દીઠું તેવું લખીઙં છે. ચુક પઢી હુએ તો ભાજનો.

These colophons give the date of completion, but a statement in the very beginning in Persian, written in Avesta characters gives the date of its commencement as roz 15, mâh 9, year 1119. We read :—



We thus see, that it took the scribe one month and seven days to complete this book, which he here calls "Kitâb Darun Yast" and which he, at the end, calls "Kitâb-i Darun Yasten" and which he, in the Gujrâti colophon at the end, calls પુસ્તક બાજ ધરવા તણું. The Indian date of the colophon corresponding to the Parsi date roz Goâd, mâh Deh, 1119 A.Y. is Saturday, Shrâvan 6 (?) Sud, 1806. We see from the dates, that the Manuscript is about 170 years old.

The Scribe.

The writer does not appear from his colophons and other writings to be a very intelligent person. His orthography is not correct. He seems to be more of an ordinary than an intelligent copyist. We do not find any particulars about him in the Parsee Prakâsh. So, he does not seem to be a known man. But his father

1 After this word there is a letter which I do not understand.

Ervad Khurshed Aspendyâr Behrâm Frâmroz, may be the Mobad Khurshedji Aspandyâr of Surat whose name we find in a document, dated Hijri 27 Shâbân 1154, corresponding to 28th October, 1741, wherein the Naosari priests residing in Surat file a complaint against the Sanjânâ Mobads who had gone to stay at Surat from Naosari, to escape from the plundering excursions of the Mahratha freebooters. We read in the Parsi Prakâsh (Vol. I, p. 856, under date 28th October 1741) :—

"તા. ૨૭ મી શાબાન ૧૧૫૪ હીજરી.

આજ દીને સુરતમાં વસનારા નવસારીના ભગરીઆ મોબેદો શેરાબજી નશરવાનજી ટાટા.....વગેરેએ નબાબ તેગબેગ ખાનની દરબારમાં સુરતીઆ મોબેદો મનોચેહરજી ખુરશેદજી.....રતનજી અસપંદીઆરજી કુકાજી અસપંદીઆરજી. **ખુરશેદજી અસપંદીઆર**.....વગેરેપર દાવો કીધો હતો કે નવસારી કસબાના સંજાણા મોબેદો તથા પારસી જજમાનો જેઓએ વેપાર ધંધાસર અથવા લુટારાઓનાં તોફાનને લીધે સુરતમાં આવી વતન પકડયું છે તેઓને ત્યાંના લગન, ખુશાલી તથા ગમીના રસમોનાં સબળાં કામો કરવાનો કદીમુલ અબઆંમથી અમારો તાલુકો છે, અને તે બાબેનો પરવાનો પણ હાથમાં રાખીએચ, તે છતાં સુરત બંદરવાસી મોબેદો તે અમારી મેહેનતમાં જાસ્તીથી દાખલ થાય છે. આ ઉપરથી નવાબ સાહેબે ચોરેઆસી પ્રગણાંના ફોજદાર મીરજાં અબદુલ બેગને એ બાબેની તેહકીક કરવાને ફરમાવીઆથી તેણે સુરતવાસી મોબેદોનો હક રદ કીધો, અને તેઓ પાસે આજની તેરીખે એક લેખ લખાવી આપ્યો કે ઉપલા સંજાણા મોબેદો તથા સર્વ પોતાના જજમાનોનાં કામે કરવાનો હક ભગરીઆ મોબેદોનો છે. તેમાં અમારો કસો દાવો દાખલ નથી."[1]

1 Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel gives this information to us on the authority of a Gujarati pamphlet called "નેજાઅ શેકન" (نيجاء شكن lit. Breaker of Envy) published in 1871 by the late Ervad Rustamji Bahmanji Unwalla, the father of our late colleague Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwalla. The pamphlet was published in the matter of a controversy arising from the fact of the building of a Dar-i Meher at Nanpurâ in Surat by the late Mr. Jamshedji Unwalla, whose library of very old Iranian manuscripts, I had the pleasure of inspecting in 1887, at Surat with the late Prof. Darmesteter. Our colleague Ervad Manockji Unwalla had received most of his rare old Manuscripts from Mr. Jamshedji who was his maternal grandfather.

The three signatories in the above quoted document who bear their father's name as Aspandyârji or Aspandyâr seem to be three brothers. This document is dated, as said above, 1741 A. C., while the manuscript of Ervad Frâm under examination is dated 1750 A. C. (1119 A. Y.), *i. e.*, about 9 years later. So, it is possible that this Ervad Farâm was the son of the above Ervad Khurshedji of the document of 1741 A. C. We must note, that though Ervad Farâm gives his father's name in two places in the colophons as Khorshed, in one place, where he refers to the Rivâyets, he gives it as Khorshedji as given in the document.

The writer does not give in his colophon the name of the town in which he wrote the Ms. as many others do. But from the fact that he calls himself Suratiâ at the end of his pedigree, if we take the above mentioned identification of the family as probably correct, we may say that the book was written in Surat.

Authorities referred to by the Scribe.

The writer speaks, at the end of his Gujarati colophon, of writing his manuscript on the authority of the Rivâyets. Again, in the body of the text also, he says, here and there, that he has given a particular Bâj according to the authorities of particular Rivâyets. We find the following authorities referred to :—

1. Ardeshir of Persia.

2. Kâmdin Shâpûr. He is said to have brought from Persia the ritual of the Bâj of *roz* Aspandâd *mâh* Farvardin. We read on folio 108a: શ્રી ઈરાનમાંહાં એ બાજ ધરે છે. હેરવદ કામદીને શાપુર રવાએત લાવિઆછે તે મધિ લખેલું છે. એ બાજ અલખ્યુ[1] ધરવી. This shows that the rituals of some Bâjs were introduced here in the time of Kâmdin Shâpûr, the date of whose Rivâyet is 928 A. Y. (1558-59 A. C.).

A peculiar Method of numbering the folios.

The method of numbering the folios is peculiar. We find the peculiarity in some other mss. also. The hundreds are, besides the way to which we are familiar, marked with an extra dot. For example the numbers 110, 111, 112, 113, etc., are not marked as such but are marked as 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, etc. (*Vide* the Index of the Ms. at the end).

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1 Perhaps for એકલું *i.e.*, alone.

Thus, an extra cypher is used to denote the hundreds, which, if not properly understood, may lead the readers to read thousands for hundreds. Students of mathematics may throw some light on the subject of this procedure. At present, according to our present method in writing figures about millions, the occasional practice is to put a (') between the hundreds, the thousands and the millions. For example, 12,345,679. Here, the hundreds and the thousands and the millions, are separated by a comma-like mark. The Persian figuring in this manuscript seems to have some object like this. The second cypher seems to have been intended to show hundreds.

The Ms. treats of 77 subjects, out of which 65 speak of the ritual of 65 kinds of Bâj. The following Bâjs draw our special attention.

The subjects treated are mostly the Bâj.

1. Bâj Variâvâni.

We read of a Bâj on F. 110, b: રોજ અરસેસંગ માહા ફરૂ અરદીન અણુ દન બાજ વરીઆવાની ગુજરાતમાં આવ પછી મારાએિઆ તેની,બાજ અરદાફરેરા ધરવી, *i.e.*, Roz Arshisang, mah Fravardin. On this day is the anniversary of those who were killed at Variâv after (our) coming to Gujarât. The Bâj of that (day), to be celebrated by the Bâj of Ardâfarosh." What is meant to be said is, that in the ritual of the Bâj to commemorate the event of the massacre at Variâv, the Ardâfaresh Bâj may be recited and celebrated. [1]

The massacre at Variâv, referred to in the Bâj ritual.

Now, what is the event that is referred to here? We know from the Kisseh-ī Sanjân, that Variâv in the Surat district was one of the places, where the Parsees had dispersed gradually from Sanjân, their first colony in India on their emigration from Persia after the Arab Conquest. [2]

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[1] In the તમામ અવસ્તા (the whole of the Avesta) Vol. II, Published in Gujarati characters by Behedin Dadabhoy Cawasji in 1240 A. Y. (1871 A. C.) under the title of વસ્તાએિ ઇિસ્તો વાજહા (the Avesta of the celebration of the Bâjs), this Bâj is given on p. 120 as બાજ વરીઆવમાં મારેઆ ગએિલાએિાની (Bâj of those killed in Variâv.) But the publisher seems to connect it erroneously with the fight with the army of Mahmud Begadâ at the sack of Sanjân.

[2] کسان در جانب بریاو رفتند
هم کس نیز جایا نیز تفتند

i.e., several went towards Bariâv (Variâv). All persons went to (different) places (*Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis," p. 14.)

(*a*) The Bombay Gazetteer and (*b*) the History of Naosari by Mr. S. M. Desai refer to the event of the massacre.

(*a*) Parsee contributors of the Gazetteer.

Mr. Kharshedji Nusserwanji Seervai and Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel, the authors of the article on "Gujarât Parsees" in the Bombay Gazetteer,[1] thus refer to the event.

"According to one account, the Variâv settlement was as old as the settlement at Sanjân. (Lord (1620) in Churchill's voyages, VI, 329). These settlers enraged the Rajput chief of Ratanpur by refusing to pay tribute and defeating a body of troops sent to enforce the order. When a fresh force arrived from Ratanpur the Parsi men were absent at a feast out of the limit of Variâv but the women donned the armour of their husbands and relations and opposed the troops valiantly. When about to obtain a victory, the helmet of one of the female-warriors, dropped and exposed her dishevelled hair. On this the Ratanpur troops rallied and made a desperate assault, and the women preferring death to dishonour heroicly leapt into the Tapti which runs through the village of Variâv and drowned themselves. The day of this disaster (the 25th day of the first month Farvardin) is still commemorated at Surat by special religious ceremonies. The year is unknown."

(*b*) Mr. Sorabji M. Desai's Account.

Mr. Sorabji Mancherji Desai in his Tavârikh-i Naosari (The History of Naosari 1897, pp. 353-55) thus refers to the event and says that the event of the massacre at Variâv is celebrated even now, at a certain place near Malesar at Naosari on *roz* 25, mah 1 of every year.

"વરિયાવ બ્હેહ્દીનોનું પરભ."

જે પ્રમાણે ભરૂચનાં પારસીઓ "હોમાજી બાજ" કરે છે, તથા નવસારીનાં મોટે ફલ્યેનાં પારસીઓ સંકટમાંથી બચવાથી મેહેરજી રાણાની તથા ખરશેદજી દેશાઈની બાજ કરે છે, તથા પુન્ય ભાવથી નવસારીમાં બોદાતા ઘણા કુવામાં, બોદતાં, ખરશેદજી દેશાઈ કે મેહેરજી રાણાનાં નામથી બોદાલી મારે છે, તેજ પ્રમાણે નવસારીનાં મલેશ્વર ફલ્યેના તમામ બ્હેહ્દી-નોનાં જુના વખતથી "વરિયાવ બ્હેહ્દીનોનાં પરભ" ને નામે એક તહેંવાર પારસી રોજ ૨૫ મેા માહ ૧ લા ને દીને ઘણા માન સાથ

1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX, Part II, Gujarat Population, p. 186. *Vide* the separate publication of the authors, "Gujarat Parsis," p. 4 n.

પાળવામાં આવે છે. તેઓ વરિયાવ બહેદીનોની બાજ, જશન વિગેરે ક્રિયાઓ કરતાં આવેલાં છે. ઘણાં મલેશરાંઓ પોતાને ઘર છુટી છુટી બાજ કરે છે, અને જેમનાથી બનતું નથી, તેઓ અનજુમનમાં સામેલ થઈ ભાગ લે છે. લુનશીકુષ્ટનાં પૂર્વ ભાગમાં " દશેરા ટેકડી " ને નામે ઓળખાતી જગા આગળ, "ધંબાર્યા વડ " ને નામે મલેશરનાં બહેદીનોની એક જગા આવેલી છે. જગા અગાઉ તો મલેશર ફલ્યેની મેહેફીલો મળવાનું અને ભેગા મળવાનું એક મુખ્ય મઠક હતું. આજે પણ નવાં વરસની હમાન્જેર લેવા. માટે ત્યાં તેઓ ભેગા મલે છે. કાંઇપણ ઠરાવ કરવાનો હોય તો ત્યાં જઇને ભેગા મલતા. ત્યાંજ આજે પણ ઉપલું પરભ ધામધુમથી તેઓ પાલે છે. એ જગા મલેશરની અનજુમનની રાસની છે અને ઘાસ ઉગવાની તે જગા છે. ત્યાં એક ગંજાવર વડનું ઝાડ છે. જેની નીચે મલેશરવાળા સાહેબો પોતાનાં જાહેર ધંબારનાં જશનો અને ખાનીપીની કરતા હોવાથી તે વડને " ધંબાર્યો વડ " કહે છે. એ જગા આશરે ૧૨ વીંઘાં જેટલી વિશાળ છે. અને તેનાં ઉપર અતરેનાં મુસલમાન ભાઈઓએ એક વાર દાવો ઉથાવ્યો હતો કે ભોગલઈ વખતથી એ જગા તેઓની છે. પરંતુ મલેશરવાળાઓએ બાથ ભીડી ને તે પોતાની કદીમથી ચાલતી આવેલી સીધ કરી હતી. તેજ પ્રમાણે ગાયકવાડ સરકારે પણ તેનાં ઉપર ધારાની લાગત લેવાનો ઠરાવ કર્યો હતો, તેમાં પણ મલેશરવાળાઓ ફાવ્યા હતા અને ધર્માદાય જગા લેખે સરકારનાં ધારામાંથી તેને બચાવી હતી. આ પરભને દહાડે નાહનાં મોટાં તમામ મલેશર ફલ્યેનાં આશરે ૫૦૦ માણસો ત્યાં ભેગાં મળે છે. ત્યાં પ્રથમ તો આફરગાન જશન વગેરે ક્રિયાઓ કરી દરન અને રાંધેલા સ્વાદીસ્ત વાલની ચાસની કરી દારૂ પીને ખરાં અંતઃકરણથી મરહુમ વરિયાવા બહેદીનોની યાદ કરવામાં આવતી હતી. પણ હાલ દારૂ પીવાનો ચાલ બંધ પાડી, માત્ર ચાસની કરવામાં આવે છે. આગળ તો મલેશરમાં ઉધરાણું કરી એ ધામધુમ કરવામાં આવતી હતી. પણ હવે તો મલેશરનાં અનજુમનનાં ફંડમાંથી તેવી ક્રિયા વિગેરે થાય છે. એ પરભ પાળવા માટે એવી તવારીખ જણાવવામાં આવે છે કે જ્યારે પ્રથમ કહી ગયા તેમ ઇરાનથી પારસીઓ હિંદુસ્તાનમાં નાહસી આવ્યાં પછી, તેઓને મોટો જથ્થો નવસારી અને તેની આસપાસ આવી વસ્યો હતો, ત્યારે તેમાં કામરેજ તાલુકાનાં વરિયાવ નામે એક કસબામાં પણ તે પારસીઓને,

એક જઠો જાઈ વરચો હતો. કામરેજ તાલુકામાં ભીલ લોકોની મુખ્ય વસતી હોવાથી વારમવાર વરિયાવનાં આ ખેડુત થઈ પડેલા પારસીઓને તેઓ લુટતા અને હેરાંન કરતા. એકવાર તહેવારને ઠીને કહે છે કે, એ વરિયાવ બહેદીનો વાડી વંતરે જઈ ખાંનીપીનીમાં મશગુલ થઈ મસ્ત પડેલા હતા તે તકનો લાભ લઈ ભીલ લોકો ગાંમમાં પેઠા. બહાદુર પારસીઓ ગાંમથી દુર વાડીઓમાં ગએલા હોવાથી લાચારીથી તેમની બહાદુર ઓરતો મુખ ઉપર મુખવતા મુકી અને બુરખા બાંધી, ભીલોની સામે ઓરતવારીથી લડી, એટલે ભીલો પ્રથમતો હતી ગયા, પણ એક સ્ત્રીનો બુરખો નિકળી પડવાથી બીન મુછાલા મરદો જોઈ ભીલો બોલ્યા, કે "રાંડનાં માર્યા ફોક ગયા." તે ઉપરથી તેઓને હિમત આવીને પાછા લડયા અને જેટલાંને મરાયાં તેટલાંને માર્યા, અને અસબાબ લુટી લઈ ગયા. એટલુંજ નહિ, પણ ખેતરોમાં મરત પડેલા પારસીઓમાં પણ કતલ ચલાવી. જેટલા બચ્યા તેટલા નાહસીને નવસારીમાં આવી ભરાયા. અને જેમનાં વંશો પૈકીનાં ઘણાં કુટુંબો અત્રે મલેશ્વરમા વસતાં કહેવાય છે, તેઓ આ પરભ સામાન્ય તહેવાર લેખે પાળે છે; ફેમકે ફોણુ, કયારે કતલ થયા તેની ચોકસાઈ ન થવાથી એકજ તહેવારમાં બધાંના બાજ દરન કરે છે."

The doubt as to the day referred to by Mr. Desai is settled by this old Ms., which also gives the day as *roz* 25 mah 1, but the year is not known. A few details of the massacre differ in the two versions I have given above, but the main fact remains, that there was a fight between the Parsees of Variâv and the adjoining people, in which, in the end, the Parsees were killed and had to run away and leave the country. The fact, that an old book of ritual written about 160 years ago refers to the event, and the fact that the anniversary of the event is still celebrated by the Parsees of Naosari, where the remnants had fled and settled, prove that an event of that kind had really happened.

2. A Bâj referring to a Jâtrâ or a pilgrimage by a king.

The ritual of another bâj refers to another event. The bâj is to be celebrated on *roz* Âdar *mâh* Ardibehesht to commemorate the pilgrimage (જાત્રા) by a vadâ (વડા) *i.e.*, a leader. We read as follows :—

રોજ આદર માહ અરદીબેહેસ્ત ગુજરાતમાં આવેઆ પછી વડાએ આતશબેહેરામની જાત્રા કીધી એણુ દન બાજ બાજ આદર રોજની ધર વી. આદરહેમાનની ધરવી.

In the Index, this Baj is spoken of simply as બાજ આદરી આનના પરભની. It is not said whose pilgrimage is meant, and who this વડા or leader is.

Now what is this event? One may say that the event referred to in the ritual is that, which is narrated by Rao Saheb Mahipatram Rupram in his book named Sadhra jasang (pp. 110). I give the story below.[1]

"ગુર્જરેશ્વરે (સિદ્ધરાજે) મુંબાઈ સુધી ઉત્તર કોકનનો મુલક ગુજરાત જોડે ભેલી દીધો જે સાષ્ટીબેટમાં જબરૂં થાનું બેસાડયું. ત્યાંથી વધારે ઉત્તરમાં આવતાં સંજાનમાં અને આસપાસનાં ગામોમાં તેણે નવી જાતનાં લોક જોયાં. દમન, વલસાડ, ગણદેવી, વાંસડા, ધરમપુર અને માંડવીનાં રાજા ગુર્જરેશ્વરને ભેટ મુકવા આવ્યા તે વારે મોટું દરબાર ભરવામાં આવ્યું અને મહારાજાએ એ માંડલીક રાજા, ઠાકોર, મોટા જાગીરદાર દેશાઈ વગેરેને સરપાઓ આપ્યા. તે વેળા સંજાનના રાજાએ દસ્તુર મનીચેર નામે એ નવા લોકના વડાને મહારાજની હજુરમાં આંણી ઓલખાવ્યા. દસ્તુરજીએ મહારાજાને ખોળો ભરી સુનૈયાની ભેટ મુકી, ને ગુર્જરપટીએ તેને સાલજોડી, મોતીની માળા, સુંદર ઘોડો વગેરેનો સરપાવ આપ્યો. એ દસ્તુર જોડે મહારાજને કેટલીક એકાંત મુલાકાત થઈ તેમાં તેણે પારસી લોકને પોતાનો દેશ તજી આ દેશમાં શા વાસ્તે આવવું પડયું તેનાં કારણ કહ્યાં. મનીચેરે પારસી રાજ્યનો ઈતિહાસ વર્ણવ્યો. તે સિદ્ધરાજને મનોરંજ અને તેનો છેલ્લો ભાગ ખેદકારક લાગ્યો. મુસલમાંન ધર્મની ઉત્પનતી, તેનું ઉતાવળે પ્રસરવું, ઈરાનનાં ઘણાં ખરા લોકનું મુસલમાન થવું, ચોગાનું પોતાનાં ઘરબાર વાડી, વછકરા, સગા વ્હાલાં વિગેરે તમામ પાછળ મુકી બહુ બહુ દુઃખ વેઠી અતરે નાહસી આવવું, અહિં આવ્યા પછી ઘણાંક વરસ લગી તેમને પડેલી અડચનો અને મુસીબત આદીકનો હેવાલ સાંભળી મહારાજાનાં ઉદાર મનમાં દયા આવી. દસ્તુરજીનો હાથ સાહી જયસીંહ દેવે કહ્યું કે આપણે પાછા સ્વદેશ

[1] જુઓ રા. સા. મહીપતરામ રૂપરામનો "સાધરાજેસંગ" પાના ૧૧ થી ૧૧૩ સુધી.

જવાની ઇચ્છા હોય તો. આપણે અનજુમનને મેળવી સર્વનો વિચાર પુછી બહુ મતે જવું થશે તો, મને ખબર કરજો. મારાથી બનશે તેટલી મદદ હું આપીશ. દસ્તુરજી કહે પંચાયતને મેલવી એ વાત પુછવાની જરૂર નથી. જેમ હમારા આ દેશમાં વસનારા આર્યભાઇનો ચાલ છે કે જેને પેટે દીકરો નથી હોતો તે પોતાનાં કુટુંબી કે ગુત્રીમાંથી તે દોહિત્રને, ભાંનેજને કે બીજા કોઇને દત્ત પુત્ર કરી લેછે તેમ હમારૂં રાજ્ય પાયમાલ થયું, હમારો યજ્દેજર્દ પાદશાહ પડ્યો, હમારા મોટા અમીર ઉમરાવ, પહેલવાન, મોબેદો વગેરેનો નાસ થયો, ને હમારા પ્યારા દેશની ખરાબી થઈ ત્યારે હમે તે છોડી, હમારા આતશને લઈ અતરે આવી વસ્યા ને આનેજ હમારો દેશ કર્યો. અહિંના લોક આર્ય છે. હમે પણ આર્ય છીએ. એટલે બેઉ પીતરાઈ તો હતા તે હવે ભાઈ થયા. ઘર ભાંગી પડયું, ત્યારે નવું બાંધી તેમાં વાસ કર્યા તો પછી પાછા ખંડેરમાં રહેવા શાવાસ્તે જઈએ? ત્યાં હમે સુખે જીવી શકીએ નહિ. ત્યાં હમારો પાક ધર્મ પાળી શકીએ નહિ. અહિંજ આપ મહારાજાધીરાજને અને આપના માંડલીક રાજાની મહેરબાની હમારા ઉપર જરી રહે અને ઉદ્યોગમાં હમે બીજા દેશી લોકની જોડે દીલથી સામેલ થઇએ એવી હમારી પુરી ઇચ્છા છે. હમારા લોક ઉદ્યોગી, પરાક્રમી, અને પરોપકારી છે, હમે એકલપેટા નથી. હમે અટદા નથી. બીન હરકતે આ દેશમાં વસવાની, ઉદ્યમ કરવા દેવાની, જમીન વેચાતી લેવાની, ધન જોડવાની અને હમારા પૂર્વજોની પાક દીન પાલવાની રજા આપી આજ સુધી હમારૂં રક્ષણ કર્યું છે તેવું કર્યા કરો, અને હમે વાખાના માર્યા પરદેશી ઉપર દયા કરી છે તેવી જરી રાખો ને કૃપા કરી હમને સ્વદેશી, ને આપની સેવા બજાવનારી પ્રજા ગણો એ હમારે માંગવાનું છે. આમ બોલતાં દસ્તુરનું મુખ દયામનું થયું અને તેની આંખમાંથી આંસું વહ્યાં.

સિદ્ધરાજે તેને ધીરજ આપી કહ્યું તમે અને તમારી કોમ હમારા દેશમાં નિર્ભય રહો. તમારા ગામના રાજાથી માહરા જાનવામાં આવ્યું છે કે પારસી લોક રૂડી ચાલનાં, ભલાં, મહેનતુ, હુશીયાર, તેજીવાલાં, જાગૃત છે. તંનતો ફીસાદ ન કરતાં સારી રીતે વર્તે છે. એ જાંની હું રાજી થયો છું. હું તમારૂં રક્ષણ કરીશ અને માહરી બીજી રૈયતમાં અને

તમારામાં કંઈ ભેદ ગણીશ નહિં આટલુંજ નહિ પણ તમારામાંથી જે યોગ્ય જણાશે તેમને મારી સેનામાં અને મારી દરબારમાં નોકરી આપીશ કારભારીઓમાં દાખલ કરીશ, અને મોટા ઓધા અને જાગીરો યોગ્યતા પ્રમાણે આપીશ. " બીજે દિવસે સહવારે સંજાનના મોટા આતશબહેરામનાં દર્શન મહારાજે કર્યા અને સાંજે મુખ્ય પારસી ગ્રહસ્થોને દરબારમાં બોલાવી મલ્યા. એ વેળા તેમની સમક્ષ દસ્તુર મનીચેરને પાલખી તથા છડીદાર આપી તેનાં ખરચને માટે જમીન આપી. પારસીઓ એથી બહુ ખુશી થયા ને કેટલાક ગુર્જરપતીની સેવા કરવાને તેની જોડે પાટણ ગયા.

The king Gurjareshvar or Siddhraj or Jayasinha referred to in the above story is the king Siddha Raj Jaisinha of Anhilwad, whose capital was at Pâtan and who died in 1143 A. C. His full name was Siddha Raj Jaisinha. One may take it that this Jâtrâ of our book of ritual is the *darshan* (દર્શન) of the Mahârâja to the Fire-temple of Sanjan referred to above. In four grants of the Silhara Dynasty, [1] we find the Parsi colony of Sanjan referred to. The Anjuman of that colony is specially referred to. In one grant, it is spoken of as the Khorâsân Mandli. So, the Parsee colony of Sanjan, being well-known in the 11th Century, it is quite natural, that Siddha Raj, during his visit of the Konkan, where his predecessors, the rulers of Anhilwad, had established their sway some years before, was attracted by the Parsee colony, and being thus attracted, paid a visit to their fire-temple. Now the question is, on what authority has Rao Saheb Mahipatram described this story. The subject is worth being looked into. Mr. Sorabji Manoherji Desai, who quotes Rao Saheb Mahipatram in his Tavârikh (History) of Naosari (p. 24), doubts the truth of this story (p. 24 l. 14). Râo Saheb Mahipatram's book is a work of imagination based on some historical traditions here and there. He has given as an appendix in his book, the historical materials round which he has woven his stories which, to some extent are works of his imagination.[2] But, unfortunately, in this appendix we do not find any reference

[1] *Vide* my Paper on Sanjan J. B. B. R. A. S. XXI pp. 4-12. *Vide* my Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan p. 16.

[2] One may be led to doubt the truth of this story, because Mr. Mahipatram in the latter part of his story connects the name of Siddhraj with his friend Mr. S. S. Bengali's name. But it seems that he may have come across historical materials somewhere.

to any historical source for this story.[1] This book of ritual, if my identification is true and if Rao Saheb Mahipatram's story is based on some good authority, supports the story. Failing this story, one is tempted to connect this event of the Bâj to the visit and help of Rajâ Durgan Singhji, the Râjâ of Mandvi, to the Fire-temple when the Sacred fire was taken to Udvada. Mr. W. Ramsay thus refers to this event in the Indian Antiquary (1872, Vol. I., p. 213) on the authority of the old Dastur of Udvâdâ at the time. "After a sojourn of two years at Bulsar, the priests had an interview with the Râja of Mandvi, Durgan Singhji, then residing in his fort at Pârdi. Protection was implored and promised and a choice given of certain villages on the sea-coast for a residence. At Udvada was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence, and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A *Sanad* was given them conferring certain privileges and immunities. This is said to have been in the Samvat year 1799 (A. D. 1742)." According to the મુળ માંડવિનું દેરી રાસ્ય, published in 1890 by the Gujarat Vernacular Society under the Editorship of Rahemânkhân Kâlekhân Pathan and Vajerâm Prânshankar Upâdhyâya, this Râjâ Durgan Singhji was born in 1695 A. D. He came to the throne in 1707 and died in 1772.[2]

Out of these two stories, the second seems to be more probable and as one to which the Bâj in question refers. It is possible that the Raja, who as a Hindu, held Agni, the god presiding over fire, in respect, may have paid a visit to the house or temple in which the Sacred Parsi fire was temporarily located at or near Bulsâr.

3 The Bâj of Mino Mâreshpand Jashan.

The Baj of the Jashan, now ordinarily known as Minô Mârespand Jashan (મીનો મારેસપંદનું જશન), is celebrated to commemorate an event connected with the name of Zoroaster.

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1 Since writing this I made inquiries, through my friend, Mr. S. S. Mehta from the author's son, Rao Bahadur Ramanbhai Mahipatram Nilkanth, but he writes in his letter, dated 31st October 1921, to Mr. Mehta : "I have not been able to ascertain on what materials my father based the incidents." However I give the whole story, as it is for some students to trace its source if any.

2 I am indebted for this reference to the Indian Antiquary, to my friend Mr. Rustamji Nusservanji Munshi, whose articles in the issues of the Jam-e-Jamshed of May 1921 on the subject of the Udvada Fire-temple first drew my attention to the story of this Raja.

According to Zarthosht-nâmeh, it was on this day that Zoroaster performed an Âfringân and gave, for *châshni* or ceremonial eating, four things, which were offered and consecrated in the Âfringan, to four of his great disciples, who, by virtue of that communion, got endowed with some extraordinary gifts. This is referred to in the ritual thus : એ બાજ માહાં ૪ ચ્યાર ચીજ પેહેલી ધટે એક તો મચ્યે, બીજું તો ફુલ, ત્રીજું દુધ, ચોથું અનાર. એ ચેચ્યારે ચીજ મેલી બાજ ધરવી. મૈના[1] મધે યાદ.

This subject is referred to in the Persian Zarthûsht-nâmeh of Zarthusht Behrâm Pazdu.[2] Thus, the ritual of the Bâj of this Jashan day of *roz* Maresfend mah Aspandarmad enjoins, that in the celebration of the Baj of that day, four things are necessary. 1 Wine (maê) 2 Flower 3 Milk and 4 Pomegranate. These were the four things spoken of as given by Zoroaster on this day to the above four esteemed disciples.

4. Two Bajs of Thânak.

There are two bajs in this Ms. which are spoken of as those of Thanak or Thânak (થાનક). (*a*) One of these Bâjs is spoken of as Sri Thanak (બાજ સીરી થાનક એજવાની *i.e.*, Baj to celebrate Sri Tahânak) (*Vide* Index of the Ms.). The word thânak થાનક in Gujarati means a kind of altar on which offerings are arranged. It seems that this Baj was recited with the offering of an animal like goat, sheep, deer, and any other animal (gospand), the flesh of which can be lawfully eaten. The head of the animal was the proper part to offer, and failing that, the left ear or jaw or tongue. In the Hom Yasht (Yaçna IX 14), we read of an offering of a tongue (hizva) and left eye (hôyûmcha dôithrem.)

The ritual says :—

બાજ સીરી[3] થાનક[4] બાકરી[5] અથવા મેસ[6] અથવા હરણ અથવા જે ગોસપંદ ખાવા હલાલ હોચ્યે તેહેની બાજ હોમ. ચ્યેજતની ઉપર લખી છે તે ધરે. જાું[7] સર[8] નહી હુચ્યે તુ તેહેનું ડાહાવો કાન અને ડાવો ગેલુ[9] અન[10] જીભ માંડે બાજ ધરે. ધ્યાદ હોમ ધ્યજદની કીજે. (f. 106 a).

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1 "મૈનામધે" 'for' "in silence" or in other word in baj. (બાજમાં).

2 *Vide* Dastur Peshotan Byramji Sanjana's Translation (1864), p. 153, *Vide* Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zaratusht Nâma) par Frederic Rosenberg. Text pp. 60-62. Translation pp. 58-61.

3 For શ્રી Shri. 4 The Index gives થનક. 5 For બકરી, a she-goat. 6 P. mîsh. 7 જાુ for જો and તુ for તો 8 P. Sar. 9 Perhaps for ગલુ throat. Then jaw. *Vide* Home Yasht. 10 for અને.

i.e., " Baj Shri Thânak. They may celebrate the Baj in honour of Haoma, as given above, over a she-goat or sheep or deer or any animal (gospand) which is permissible to be eaten. If the head (of the animal) is not available, then they may place (before them for consecration) its (*i.e.*, the animal's) left ear and left throat and tongue and recite baj. This shall be done with the mention of the Haoma Yazad."

(*b*) When the preceding Thanak Baj refers to the offering of animals, the second refers to that of birds (પખેરૂ *pakhêru* f. 106). The ritual says: થાનક પખેરૂની બાજ ગાસ[1] એજદની ઉપર[2] લખી છે તેહમાં થાનક પખેરૂની પેહેલે બાજ ધરે ઇઆદ ગેાસ રેાજની કરે.

We see from this statement that when the first bâj is in honour of Haoma, this is in honour of Gosh (Dravâsp) who is presiding over animal creation.

The Parsees of India have been using several Hindu words for some of their ceremonies. The word થાનક (થાણક) is one of these. It is used in some of their old documents. For example, in a document, dated roz 11 mah 11, Samvat 1801 (28th August 1745), referred to in the Parsi Prakâsh (Vol. I p. 858), we read of the મેહરંગાનની થાનક *i.e.*, the Thânak of Meherangân. The author, Mr. Bomanj Patel, in a foot note thus explains the word :— ભરૂચ મધે મેહરંગાનના જશનને દીને જરથેાસ્તીઓ પેાતાના ધર મધે જશનની માફક મીજલસ કરી ખેારશેદ મેહેરની કેટલીક નીઆએશેા કરાવવાની ચાલ હતેા, જેને મેહરંગાનની થાનક કહેતા હતા.

It seems, that the above bâjs are for occasions like the Jashans of Meherangân, when some permissible animals or birds were killed as offerings and consecrated.

5 Bâj of Agréras. This Bâj is rarely celebrated now. The ritual says :—

બાજ અગરેરસની. બાજ અરદા ફરઅસ ધરે. ઇઆદ અરદા ફરઅસ બેરેસાદ. નામ ચસતી અનેાસ રૂઆન રૂઆની અગરહે એવીરથવે નરસ અશુને એદર ઇઆદ બાદ અનુસ રૂઆન રૂઆની. ફરમાએસની ફલણ બેરેસાદ બાજ અરદા ફરઅસ પ્રી પુરણ ધરે.

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1 For ગેાસ. 2 For ઉપર.

This Baj refers to an historic event of the reign of Minochehre when Agraêratha (Agreras of the Shah-nameh, Mohl I p. 42, p. 224-28), the brother of Afrâsiab, disliking his brother's improper conduct, secretly helped the Irânians. His name is therefore commemorated in the cannonical list of the Fravardin Yasht (*Vide* my Dictionary of the Avestaic proper names, pp. 7-10.)

6 Vanat Baj.

It is so called, because the star Vanant (Vega)[1] is remembered therein. It is recited on the New Year's day. Even now a ritual is observed in some temples and is known as વનોત કાપવી, *i.e.*, to cut the Vanot, wherein a large sacred bread (Darun) is ceremonially cut by the priest.

The ritual, as given in our Ms., runs thus :

બાજ સરવ (?) પરભની લખી છે. રોજ શ્રી હોરમજદ માહ ફરવર-દીન એણે દીવસ વનત બાજ ધરીએ બાજ ધરતા જમણા હાથમાં વાંસનું ધોકરૂં[2] (?) સાહે[3] જમના હાથપર પથ્થ માંડે તેપર ઠોકતું પઠે. મૌન મધ્યે[4] ઇઆદ કીજે (f. 106)

The ritual speaks of striking a bamboo stick over a stone. This is intended to drive away evil powers that may be the result of some evil stars. This reminds us of the Vanant Yasht, wherein there is also the ritual of clapping hands to symbolize the driving away of evils.

The present day ritual is described in the Gujarati "Tamâm Avesta" by Mr. Dadabhoy Kavasji (1240 A.Y. Part II p. 181). It is celebrated in a Fire-temple and the celebrant strikes a wooden stick over the stone slab in the Yazashnagâh. He continues to strike during a greater part of the recital of the Baj with the Khshnuman of the star Vanant. In the end, he cuts

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1 *Vide* for this identification Mr. M. P. Kharegat's article in the Sir J J. Z. Madressa Jubilee Volume, pp. 116-158.

2 ધોકરૂ means a sack of cotton or cloth. Here it seems to mean stick. 3 *i.e.* પકડે. 4 *i.e.* મન મધે.

5 *i.e.*, Here is written the Bâj of all (?) *parabhs* (festivals). Roz Shri Ormazd mâh Farvardin. On this day shall be recited Vanat bâj. On celebrating this bâj, (the priest) may hold in his right hand (a bundle of) sticks of bamboo. A stone shall be placed on the right hand. He may recite while striking (the stick on it *i.e.*, the stone). The recital shall be mental, *i.e.*, in a suppressed tone.

two out of the four *daruns* or sacred breads consecrated by him during the recital of the baj, and eats the portions that are cut. The south-west and the north-west parts of the breads are cut and swallowed.

7. The Bâj of the Bahmaniân festival.

This baj, to be recited on Roz 2 mah 11, was celebrated both during the day and during the night. If it is recited during the day a particular recital may be made. વીસ્પએશામ પઢાએ (વિસ્પએશામ યજઅતે નામ &c.) If at night, વીસ્પએશામ નહી પઢે એાગ્ત નામનો પઢે.

This Baj is given here on the authority of a Rivayat. એ રેવાયત પેાર્થામેા છે જે દસ્તુર અરદેશરનાં દસ્ખતની છે.

8. Bâj of Moktâtma.

The Baj on the Jashan day of Roz Farvardin mah Aspandad is spoken of as બાજ મેાકતાતમાની, perhaps because it is the Farvardin Roz preceding the Muktâd Holidays. The word Muktâd is spoken of as "મેાતાત" on f. 128 a. From what is said here, (on folio 128 a), we find that at the time when the Ms. was written, the proper Muktad days were taken to begin from Roz Âstâd and not from Ashisang as at present. We read રેાજ અસ્તાદ માહા અસ્પંદારમદ મેાતાત માંડીઆ પછી દન પાંચ લગી અરદા ફ્રવ્અસ બાજ ધરે.

From what is said of the consecration of the Siâv in the Muktad Holidays, it appears that the celebration of these days, was not confined to the memory of the dead but also to the living. It describes some difference between the ceremonies for the living and for the dead during these days.

9. The Bâj of Hapta Ameshâspand.

The Bâj of Hapta Ameshâspand is given on the authority of Dastur Kamdin Khambâyati શ્રી ઇરાનની રીતે ધરે દસ્તુર કામદીન ખમાએતી લાવેઆ છે તે રવાએતમાં છે. તે જોઇ લખીલું છે.

It is said, that this baj shall not be recited during the following 8 days : Meher, Srosh, Farvardin, Râm, Anerân, Depâder, Deptmeher, Depdin and during the month of Deh. No reason is given.

10. Baj of Pantha Yazata.

The Khshnuman of this Baj run thus: "pathâm khâst âtem Zarenumata sura vispashâ ardâ farosh be resâd." It seems, that this Baj was recited when one started on a journey (pathâm lit. road).

Bâjs may be recited without fire.

There is one thing in the rituals referred to in this Ms., which draws our special attention. The present practice tells us, that Fire is indispensably necessary in the recital of all Bâjs. But it appears from this Ms., that it was not so; and that a Bâj was, and may be, recited with or without Fire. When Fire is present, then the ordinary recital of *tava âtarsh, i.e.,* "Thee Fire," may be observed, but when the Bâj is recited without the fire the word *tava, i.e.,* Thee, addressed to Fire when present, may be omitted (f. 33 a, f. 117, f134 a). In the case of some Bâjs, it is specially mentioned that આતશનું પાતરૂં માંડી ધરીએ, *i.e.,* there should be a fire-vase.

A few particular Parsi-Gujarati words.

I will conclude my short notice of this book of the ritual of bâjs with a list of some peculiarly written Gujarati words found in the Gujarati portion of the ritual.

1. વગત for વીગત.

2. પાગ „ પગ.

3. ધડું „ ધડો (pot).

"લુટા નવાણ ધડો ભરી અહનાવે" *i.e.* may bring (અહનાવું for લાવવું) the pot (લોટો) freshly (lit newly) filled up.

4. ઈસુ for એમ. ઈસુ પઢે *i.e.* એમ પઢે. Compare ઇસુ with Hindustani અઈસા, French "ainsi." We also find simply સુ (su) (f-63a હાથ પાવ કરતાં સુ' પધ્યે *i.e.*, એમ અથવા નીચે પ્રમાણે પધ્યે, Also cf. Fr. suivant) for ઈસુ. Compare Eng., so.'

5. હદોલુ for હીંડોલા. It is also spoken of as તુરગટી or ત્રગટી *e.g.* પથરની ત્રગંટી : f, 62 b) ઉપર તા. થાલી ઉપર મેલે.

6. સાહી for પકડી *e.g.* "બરશમદાન જમણા હાથમાં સાંહી"

7. સરસુ for થી. છુરી સરસુ *i.e.* છરીથી or છરી સાથે, "આપે સરસી" *i.e.* આપ (પાણી) સાથે.

8. સરસી for સરખી *e.g.* "એસમબુઈ સરસી માંડે"

9. મૈનમધ્ય for મનમાં

10. મુખ મંખાલવું *i.e.* to clean the mouth by removing particles of food.

11 સે for છે, "મખીસે" for મખી છે.

12. અછીમત for untouched. છી to touch.

13. ધાત for ધાતુ metal.

14. નરમલ for clean. છરી ઘસી નરમલ કરે.

15. અંજવાલવુ for modern ઉજરવું to clean.

16. ઓખસ્ત for Avesta અયોખશસ્ત (metal).

17. અગર for ઉડેા (Sans. अग्र Av. agra).

18. અપરગ (f. 65 b) · ? for લાયક, વાજબી.

જુ વડી ખુબ હુએ ને બરસમ બાંધે તુ બાજ ૬ લગી અપરગ.

19. પ્રમ for પ્રથમ (f. 65 b. l. 12). Perhaps થ is dropped by mistake.

The inverse order of the Gujarati Writing.

In this Ms., as in some other mss., the Gujarati portion is written in an inverse order, *i.e.*, from down below towards the top. So, when, while reading the Avesta portion, you come to the ritual portion given in Gujarati, you have to turn the book. The explanation given for this procedure is, that it is adopted, because the Avesta is written from right to left and Gujarati from left to right. This seems to be a plausible reason, but this does not seem to me to be the proper reason for this clumsy procedure which gives one a good deal of trouble. I think, the explanation given to me some time ago, by an elderly priest is the proper one. It is this: In the recital of the Vendidad, the manuscript, from which the Zaoti or the principal celebrant reads it, is placed on a wooden stand spoken of as વેહેલ *vehel*, which we see also in Mahomedan mosques for the Korans. These stands are on the right of the Joti. These manuscripts contain the ritual directions in Gujarati. Now, it is the province of the other priest, the Râthwi, to attend to all these directions and to be ready from time to time, for the ritual observances. Therefore the ritual directions in Gujarati, which he has to read from time to time, are written in the inverse order, so that he may, when required, go before the stand and read the ritual from the side opposite to that to which the Zaoti directs his face while reading from the manuscript. Thus, he may do his part without disturbing the Zoti. If the Gujarati ritual also was written in the order in which the Avesta is written, he should now and then lift the book from the wooden stand to read it, a proceeding which would often disturb the Zaoti.

APPENDIX.

After writing the above, I happened to read in the Jam-i-Jamshed, a report from Naosari, describing a Jashan ceremony celebrated there as usual, but with a better eclat, on roz 25 mah 1 of this year (1291 A. Y.). In the report, a disâ-pothi દીસા *i.e.*, a manuscript containing the dates (*disa*) of the deaths of the Parsee laymen of Malesar at Naosari, was referred to, as containing a reference to the above Variâv affair. It was said to be 200 years old. I sent for the manuscript to examine it and I am indebted to Mr. Mervanji Karkaria for kindly sending it to me for inspection. The manuscript is thus spoken of in the very beginning.

સ્વસ્તા શ્રી મલેસર ફલીઆનાં બેહેદીનનાં મપ્પતાતમાંની એ દીશાપોથી લપ્પવામાંદી. શંવત ૧૭૬૩ નાં વરપે રોજ ૨૯ માહા ૨ અરદીબેસ. *i.e.*) This Disha-pothi of the holy souls of the Behedins (laymen, of the auspicious Malesar falia was begun to be written on roz 29 mah Ardibehs(ht) Samvat 1793.

Thus, it is (Samvat 1978—1793=) 185 years old. At first, the names of all the deceased laymen who died before the above year, *i.e.*, 1793 have been written by the writer in one hand. The entries of death are given in the consecutive order of days of the Parsee year, *i.e.*, at first on roz Hormazd mah Farvardin, then roz Bahman, then roz Ardibehsht, and so on, till the 30th day Aneran of the month Farvardin. The days are marked as roz 1, roz 2, roz 3, &c. Then similar entries are made for the next month Ardibehsht, and so on, till the last twelveth month Aspandad. The years of death are added after some names.

Subsequently, others have gone on adding names in their own hands between two names of the same day of death here and there. As far as my hasty inspection goes, the earliest year of death is Samvant 1747 (folio 5*b* last but 4 lines roz 10 mah 1) and the latest year of death is Samvant 1850 (f. 48 roz 5 mah 6). So it seems that names were added to those on the list for about (1850-1793=)57 years. Then the addition seems to have ceased.

The Ms. has 98 folios written in the form of Indian account books, *i.e.*, the folios are to be turned not from side to side as we ordinarily do, but from below, upwards. The Variâv massacre event is referred to under the entries of roz 25 mah 1 (folio 11 line 3) as રામરાત વરીઆવા બેહેદીન, *i.e.* (the date of the death of) all Variâv Behedins.

We thus see, that this Ms. which takes a note of the Variâv event is about 13 years older than our Ms. of Kitab-i-Darun Yastan under examination.

The Variâv entry is the very first under the entries of roz 25 mah 1. This shows that being a very old event, older than that of the deaths of the other persons named, the writer entered it in the very beginning. The writer does not give the year because perhaps being an old event in his time also, its date was not known to him also.[1] It must be long before Samvat 1747, the earlist date in the Ms.

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1 After examining the proof for the above, and before it goes to the Press, I saw a still older Disâ-pothi containing a note of the Variav event. It is dated Samvat 1782 and was written by Jamshedji Mervanji Charna. Thus it is 196 years old.

TWO MINIATURES, ON THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE PARSIS, IN TWO MSS. OF THE GUJARATI VIRÂF-NÂMEH,

MSS. OF THE PARIS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE (Nos. 75 AND 76 FONDS INDIEN).

Introduction.

In the first number of the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (pp. 71-74), we find an English translation by Mr. L. Bogdanov, of a Report in Russian by the well-known Russian scholar, Mr. K. A. Inostrantsev, entitled "The Parsi Funeral Ceremony, as illustrated in the Gujarati versions of the Book of Artâ Virâf."[2] The author says in the beginning: "The study of the Parsi ritual is considerably hindered by the circumstance, that we are unable to have a clear outline of the course of its evolution. From the ancient traditions of the Avesta, we have to pass over without transition to very late compendia on religious traditions (the so-called 'rivâyets') and to the contemporary ritual of Parsiism. The difficulty in constructing in detail the picture of the development and the modification of the Parsi ritual is explained by the absence of the necessary materials. That general thesis can be fully applied also to the special instance of the study of those ceremonies of Parsiism which have been, most probably from their peculiar character, attracting most attention,—the funeral ceremonies. Although we possess a very considerable amount of varied information in the literatures of Asiatic and European peoples relative to the Parsi funeral for the period of the many centuries of the existence of the religion of Zoroaster, as well as certain buildings once upon a time erected by the followers of that religion, by which the funeral ceremonies are to a certain extent explained, yet, a series of details of the same is far from being

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[1] This paper was read before the Jarthoshti Din ni Khol karnâri Mandli of Bombay at its sitting of 17th March 1923, under the title of "Notes on Mr. K. A. Inostrantsev's report on 'The Parsi Funeral Ceremony, as illustrated in the Gujarati versions of the book of Artâ Virâf."

[2] It was a report submitted to the Historico-Philological Section of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in the sitting of the 16th March 1911.

clear. Therefore, we thought it of some interest to introduce for the purpose of explaining those details some materials, as yet unpublished; we have in view the illustrations in the Gujarati versions of the book of Artâ Virâf of the Parsi funeral ceremony." In explaining the details, Mr. Inostrantsev has followed my description in my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsis; their Origin and Explanation."[1] As for the illustrations, he has followed two miniatures in two manuscripts of the Gujarati Virâf-nâmeh in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Nos. 75 and 76, Fonds Indien). Concluding his paper, he says: "Thus, it can be seen, that the Gujarati miniatures give us a representation of the Parsi funeral ceremony in the XVII-XVIII centuries, very similar to the contemporary ritual of Parsiism."

The object of this paper is to show, that the miniatures, found in the two manuscripts of the Bibliothéque Nationale, and which one may find also in some other similar manuscripts of the versions in India or elsewhere, are not the faithful representations of the ceremonies observed in the 17th and 18th centuries, as misunderstood by our author. They are, as it were, a mixture of the picture of the ceremonies as observed in those centuries and of the picture, imagined by the author of the versions or by the painters of the miniatures, as existing in the times of Darius and Alexander the Great. Before I proceed to the object proper of my paper, I beg to say in passing, that there is not such a great gap of materials between "the ancient traditions of the Avesta" and "the very late compendia on religious traditions (the so-called 'rivâyets')," as our author seems to think. Various Pahlavi writings, including the Pahlavi commentaries of the Vendidâd, and some Persian writings like those of the Sad-dar, often referred to by the writers of the Rivâyets, fill up the gap.

I will treat my subject under two heads. I. Examination of the two manuscripts of the Virâf-nâmeh referred to by Mr. Inostrantsev and of other MSS. of the kind, and II. Examination of the contents of the preliminary part of the Gujarati Virâf-nâmeh in order to show that the miniature of the funeral referred to by Mr. Inostrantsev refers to the funeral of Dara (Darius III, Darius Codomanus) and not to that of the Parsees of the 17th or 18th century.

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1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 405-440. Reprint, 1st edition in 1892; 2nd edition in 1905.

I.

The two Manuscripts referred to by Mr Inostrantsev.

Mr. Inostrantsev refers to two Gujarati manuscripts of the Virâf-nâmeh in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Nos. 75 and 76 (Fonds Indien). They are the two manuscripts referred to by Mr. Blochet, as XLVII and XLVIII in his consecutive order of numbers in his Catalogue.[1]

Anquetil Du Perron has thus referred to one of them (No. 76)[2]

" XIV Viraf-namah En Indien du Guzarate.

" Volume in-4° de 288 pag. très-bien écrit, avec beaucoup de figures.

" Cette Traduction du Viraf-namah a été faite sur le Perfan, par le Destour Roustoum Assa, il y a soixante-dix à quatre-vingts ans. Le Volume commence par ces mots Indous :

Ketab Viraf namaï lekisê.

Il finît par ceux ci :

Kitabtchè leki tê."

The Author of the Gujarati version.

We will, at first, examine, who the real author of the Gujarati version of the Viraf-Namah is. Is it Rustam Âsâ, as said by Anquetil and repeated by M. Blochet in his catalogue or Rustam Peshotan ? Anquetil speaks of this Gujarati translation of Ardâ Virâf as having been made by Dastur Rustam about 70 or 80 years before his time, *i.e.*, 70 or 80 years before his visit to Surat (May 1758 to 1761 A. C.), where he must have taken down the note or memo of the date of the Gujarati version. So, we find, that the year—70 or 80 years before—comes to some year between 1680 and 1690. Now, we know of no Dastur Rustam Âsâ of this time, as the author of a versified Gujarâti Virâf-nameh. Perhaps, one may think, that Anquetil may have mistaken the name of a copyist Dastur Rustam for that of the author. But, we find no mention of any Dastur of the name of Rustam Âsâ at this period in the literature of the time. In fact, in the Index of well-known

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1 Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale (1900,) p. 75.

2 Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre, Tome Premier, Seconde Partie, Notices XIV, p. XXXV.

and even of partially known Parsees of the time, given by Mr. B. B. Patel in his Parsee Prakash, we find no Dastur or even a known Mobed or layman of that name in the 17th or 18th century.[1] So, I think, that Anquetil has perhaps either misread or misunderstood the name for the name of Dastur Rustam Peshotan. We know of a learned priest of the time, known as Ervad or Dastur Rustam Peshotan Hormajiâr (Hormazdyâr), as the author of a Gujarati Virâf-nâmeh. We find the following particulars about him from various sources :—

(1) We find his name as one of the writers of a letter from Surat to Persia in the matter of the new Tower of Silence, founded by Nanabhoy Punjiah[2] written in 1668 A. C.

(2) We find his name as Dastur Rustam Peshotan in a writing from Persia, dated Roz 26 Mah 10 Kadmi 1039 Yazdazardi (July 1670), which is known as Dastur Asfandyar's Rivâyat.[3]

(3) We know him as the writer in Gujarati verse of a Zarthosht-nameh. Therein, he gives his name as Ervad Rustam Peshotan *sût* (*i.e.*, son of) Hormazyâr Ervad Râmyâr, and the date as Roz Farvardin Mah Khordad 1044 Yazdazardi (*i.e.*, 1675 A. C.)[4]

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1 I have inquired from Ervad Mâhiyâr Nowrojee Kutar who is familiar with the names of old Dasturs of Surat, Naosari and elsewhere. He also, in his reply, dated 7th March 1923, says, that he knows of no Dastur of the name of Rustam Âsâ.

2 Parsi Prakash, I. 16 (*vide* Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyat by Ervad Maneckjee R. Unwala, with my Introduction, Vol. I, p. 103).

3 *Ibid* I, p. 16.

4 હવ કવતાં એ કવે સવ શૂભ શારશાતી શાર.
એરવદ રૂસ્તમ પશોતન શત હોરમજદીઆર એરવદ રાંમીઆર
એ જ'દ ફરૂરા શારશાતી એમ મૂખ દેઇ તમ પોહોચવી આશા.
એ સરવ પત કહેઉ સોહામની શૂરત નગરીને વાશા.
ઇચ્અજદગરી શન એક હજાર ચેહેલ ને ચેહાર.
તે દંણુ ફરૂઅરદીન માશા ખુરદાદ રોજ એ પત કીધું તેઆર.

Manuscript containing both Zarthosht-nameh and Siâvakhsh-nameh belonging to Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, pp. 2-3. The whole manuscript was completed on Roz Adar Mah Avan 1221 A.Y. (1852 A. C.), and was written by Mobed Jamshed bin Khorshid bin Kaus bin Jamshed bin Maneck bin Behram bin Darab bin Sohrab bin Maneck bin Peshotan laqab Sanjaneh, descended from Neryosang Dhaval (Ibid, p. 219). The portion of Zarthosht-nameh was completed

(4) We also know him as a writer in Gujarati verse of the Siâvakhsh-namah. He gives therein his name as Rustam Peshotan Hormazdyar,[1] his town as Surat,[2] and the date of the completion of the writing as Roz Hormazd, Mah Shahrivar, Samvat 1736[3], *i.e.*, about 1679 A. C.

(5) In a letter, dated 1683, from Surat to Naosari we find his name among other signatories, but we read after his name the words દા. માણેક રૂસ્તમ, *i.e.*, written by the hand of Maneck Rustam. This Maneck Rustam seems to be his son, and he may have signed the letter on behalf of his father, who, perhaps, could not sign it himself owing to old age, or who, for some other reason like illness, may have directed his son to sign the document.[4]

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on Roz Astâd, Mah Meher, 1221 (Ibid, p. 100), We find this date in the Persian couplets at the end of Zarthost-nameh. In this Persian colophon he gives his name as Jamshed son of Khurshid. He gives his grand-father's name as Kaus. The Siâvaksh-nameh, which follows, has colophons both in Gujarati and Persian (pp. 219-220). In the Gujarati colophons he carries on his pedigree higher than that of his grandfather. In the Persian colophon at the end (p. 220) the scribe gives the name of the place where he wrote it as Hind, in the country of Kohkan town of Kaliâni. (هند بلاد كوهكن در قصبهٔ كلياني) The Zarthosht-nameh has been published by Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria in the several issues of the Zarthoshti (*vide* its various issues from Farvardin 1273 A. Y. to Daê 1275 A. Y.).

[1] આખાં દાસ ઍરવદ રૂસતમ પેમુતન થૂત હોરમજદીઆર
નસલે મોબેદ હોરમજદીઆર ઍરવદ રામીયાર.

(The Shiavakhsh-nameh edited by Ervad Tehmuras D. Anklesaria p. 2.)

[2] સમાપુરણ કીધું શ્રી સૂરત શેહર નગરીને વાસ
ઍસી આવખંરાનામુ લખી તમામ કીધું ખલાસ (Ibid, p. 224)

[3] સંવત ૧૭૩૬ વૃખે ઍ પુસ્ત કીધું શોજ
મખારક માહા શેહરેવર ને હોરમેજદ રોજ
રોજ હોરમેજદ ને ગાહા હાઊઅન લીધી
ઍણે દંન ઍ શેઆવખરા કીરત રામાપુરજ કીધી.

[4] In those times, the son, at times, signed on behalf of his father. For example, I have seen in the old records of the Parsee Panchâyat, Moola Feeroz, the well-known learned scholar, sign the public Resolutions of the Panchâyat or Anjuman on behalf of his father.

From all that is said above and what follows, we determine the following dates about this Dastur Rustam Peshotan:—

1651 A. C. The date of his Virâf-nâmeh, determined from what follows.

1668 „ Letter to Persia in the matter of Nanabhai Punjiah's Tower of Silence.

1670 „ Letter from Persia, wherein he is one of the addressees.

1675 „ Wrote the Siâvakhsh-nameh.

1679 „ Wrote his Zarthost-nameh.

1683 „ Signed a letter to Naosari with other writers, but not with his own hand. It was signed by his son, thus indicating advanced old age.

Dastur Rustam Peshotan's Virafnâmah. Its date.

Now, there remains another event in Dastur Rustam Peshotan's life, referred to first in the above list, which, though I mention last, is not the least important for our subject. That is the event of his writing the Gujarati Virâf-nâmeh referred to above. We will see from what is said below, that it seems, that the date of this event precedes that of all the above named events. In this work also, he gives his name as Ervad Rustam Peshotan *sut* Hormazdyâr.[1]

We do not find the author giving the date of his writing this work, as he has done in the case of his other two works, the Siavakhsh-nâmeh and the Zarthosht-nâmeh. Ervad Tehmuras Anklesaria, the editor of the Siâvakhsh-namah, gives the dates of the above two nâmehs, but not the date of

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1 ગેમ્યાંન ધેમ્યાંન એ ધણી પર ધરેજીં મ્યારા
એ પરગટ વીરાફ કીધી શૂરત નગરીનિ વારા
શૂરત નગરી માંહાં અમ રલીમ્યાએત મન
એ પૂરાતક કીધૂ એરવદ રરાતમ પશૂતન
એરવદ રરાતમ પશૂતન શૂત હોરમજદીમ્યાર
નરાલે મોબેદ હોરમજદીમ્યાર એરવદ રામદમ્યાર.

this Virâf-nâmeh, because he did not find it in his MS. also. This puzzled me also at first. But, I think, we can trace the date from the last line of his Virâf-nâmeh. The last line is not

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P. 6 of a manuscript in my possession, presented to me by the late Ervad Jamshedji Sorabji Dastur of Naosari in June 1902. It is a copy from the original, I produce here for inspection this manuscript written in 1121 A. Y. (about 1752 A. C.). The colophon of this manuscript runs thus: શમત ૧૮૦૧ નાં વરખે ચૈતર વદ ૧૦ શને ઇઝ્મજદજરદી ૧૧૨૧ રોજ એનીખ્યો મારેરાપંદ માહા મુખારક સેહરેવર અંમશાશપંદ ને દંન અરદાખ્યે વીરફ તમાંમ શમાંપજ કીધી.

This colophon does not give the name of the scribe, but it gives the date of its being written as Samvat 1801, Yazdazardi 1121. The owner of the manuscript, one Kuverji Kila Patel Bharucha endorses at the end in his own hand the sale of the book to Hormusji Maneckji Marolia in Samvat 1907, *i. e.*, about 106 years after the above Samvat year of the colophon. In this endorsement, in order to distinguish the date of the sale which he gives, he says in the very beginning that the above date is that of the original manuscript. I give below his endorsement of sale :

હવે શમજવું કે ઉપર લખેલો શને અશાલ કેતાખનો છે. લા. કુવરજી કાલા પટેલ ભરૂચા દાકતરની ખે કેતાખ વીરાફ નાંમાંની હતી તે આજ દીને પારશી હોરમજી ગુ. માણેકજી મરોલીખા નોશાજીનાં તેહેને અમોખ્યે વેચાતી આપી છે ખેપર અમારો દાવો નહી. શાવત ૧૯૦૭ નાં મા. ૧૧ રો. ૧૩ લા. કુવરજી કાલા પટેલ ભરૂચા શાખ.

Subsequently, the purchaser, Hormusji Maneckji, sells it with another endorsement to Nanabhai Hormusji Damania. Then the new purchaser, Nanabhai Hormusji Damania makes a note on it of the purchase and says that it was bought for Rs. 8½.

At the end of my manuscript of the Gujarati version of Dastur Rustam Peshotan, I find a rough painted picture of a girls' school with four girls standing with open books in their hands before a priest-teacher also holding an open book in his hand and sitting on a chair with a table before him. The picture bears the heading :

બરજોરજી સોરાખજી દશતુરની ખે શાખી છે. ઇશ્કોલ માંદીખ તે.

I do not know who this Burjorji Sorabji Dastur is.

The picture gives one an idea of the dress of the Parsi girls about 50 years before our times. I remember seeing such dress in my boyhood. The word ઇશ્કોલ (ischol) for English 'school' and the use of a chair and table show the picture to be of comparatively recent times.

The Parsi writers of the present day are, at times, found fault with, as introducing foreign words in the Gujarati language and corrupting it. But the use of the English word 'Doctor' in the above writing of Samvat 1907 shows that if the introduction of foreign words in a language is a fault, it is a fault, not of the present parsi generation.

a rhymed line of the last couplet but is a line in prose. The line runs thus:

આખર હજારે અવધ હતી તે રામાપત થઈ.

"There was a limit at the last millenium which is completed." I do not clearly understand the signification of this sentence. I suspected from the line being an unrhymed line that, possibly some words suggested the date. My suspicion turned out to be true. The words આખર હજારે (હજારે) written in Persian as آخر ہزارہ give, according to the *memoria technica* of *abjad*, the date when Dastur Rustam Peshotan completed his work. The words *âkhar*, *i. e.*, end, and samâpat *i. e.*, finished, led to the suggestion. Taking these words for the date, the date of the work would be 1020 Yazdazardi,[1] *i.e.*, about 1651 A. C. I think, that as far as I know, *that is the first instance in a Gujarati book* written by a Parsi, of giving the date, of the writing according to the Persian *Abjad* process.

The date is quite possible. We saw above that in 1037 Yazdazardi (1668 A. C.), Rustam Peshotan was a signatory in a letter to Persia. This letter was written by two brothers Kuverji Nanabhoy and Hirjee Nanabhoy, the two sons of a great man of Surat, Nanabhoy Poojia, who had built at his own expense a new Tower of Silence at Surat. So, by this time, Dastur Rustam was well-advanced in years to acquire an honourable position among his people. So, it is likely that in 1651, *i.e.*, 17 years before this letter was written, he was sufficiently well educated to write such a book.

Rustam Peshotan's reference to himself in the work.

We find that Rustam Peshotan has referred to himself in the preliminary or introductory part of his work. He first praises God and then the Mazdayasni religion given by God, which he says, he studied well (lit. letter by letter અખરે અખર). He then praises Zarthusht as the priest of priests, or as the teacher (guru of teachers ગુરાણુ ગુર). He deplores that he had to live in the Kali yug (કલી કાલ) and asks the protection of God, as he had to suffer much (અતી અતહિર modern અતેશ) patiently. Then, he prays for Sarasti(સારસતી for Shrasvat the goddess of learning) to write his work. He then speaks

1 ا=1+ا=1+ خ=600+ر=200+ز=5+ر=7+ا=1+ر=200 +ز=5=Total 1020.

of reading the Virâf (nâmeh) before a Dastur. He then speaks of the precious Virâf-nâmehs in Persian by Zarthusht Behram and Noshirwan Behram and the Virâf-nâmeh known as Kausi Virâf (કાઉશી વીરાફ)[1]. Dastur Rustam Peshotan writes as follows about this matter:—

એ વીરાફ વિણુ છિ પેહેલવીમાં ખરી
જરથુરાત બેહેરામ ફરશ કીધી ફરી.
નુશેરવાંન મરજબાંની ભી છે વીરાફ
તે એક મન ધરી વાંચી મેં દીલ કીધું શાફ.
કાઉશી ભી વીરાફ એ દીઠી છે શહી
તે શરવ જોઈ વાંચી મેં દેલમાં લહી.
પરાકરત વીરાફ મેં સમજીને ભાલી
એ પરગત પરાકરત કહુ રાંભાલી.
શરવ વીરાફ દસતુર આગલ ભણેએ્યો શારી
અખરે અખરનાં અરથ કીધા વચારી.
દશાતૂર બરજોર આગલ ભણેએ્યો વીરાફ
તિણે ભણાવી અરથ કરાવી મંન કીધું શાફ.
તે ગૂર ગનેઆંનીથી ભિ શરવ બેહજ લેહેએ્યો
તે ગૂર ચરણથી હું શીધ સેવક થાએ્યો.
એક ધિઆંન ધરી એ એ્યમ કીધુ વીચાર
એ ફરશ પરાકરત પરગટ કરૂ શાર.[2]

At the end of the above passage, he says that he was a pupil if Dastur Burjor. This Dastur Burjor seems to be the well-onown Dastur Burjor Kamdin, the compiler of the Rivâyat known by his name.[3] He then refers to himself as the writer kn the following verses:—

હવે એ પૂરાતક વિણુ તમ વાંચી પડજો
જે નંદેઆ કરી તેહેનિ તમ કરવા દેજ્યૂ
ગેઆંન ધિઆંન એ ધણી પર ધરેઉ ખાશ
એ પરગટ વીરાફ કીધી શુરત નગરીનિ વાશ.

1 This book, known as Virâf-i Kâusi (*i.e.*, Virâf-nâmeh written by Kâus), was written in about 1533 A. C. by Kaus bin Fariborz bin Navroz, a Persian Zoroastrian from Yezd, at the desire of Maneck Changa and his son Bahman Maneck, the son and the grandson of the well known leader Changashah of Naosari (Parsi Prakash, p. 7).

2 Folio 5.

3 We see Burjor Kamdin's name in a letter to and from Persia, written in 1626 and 1627. We also see it with that of Ervad Rustam Peshotan in a letter from Persia in 1670 (Parsi Prakash I, p. 16).

સુરત નગરી માંહાં અમ રલીઆમ્યેત મન
અે પૂરાતક કીધૂ અેરવદ રશતમ પશૂતન
અેરવદ રશતંમ પશૂતંન થૂત હોરમજદીઆર
નરાલે મોબેદ હોરમજદીઆર અેરવદ રામીઈઆર.

Another Gujarati versified version of the Virâf Namah.

It appears, that there is another Gujarati versified version of the Virâf-namah. I produce one for inspection. It has been presented to our K. R. Cama Oriental Institute by Mr. Burjor P. Kumana recently, on 17th October 1921.

We find the following colophon at the end :—

શ્રી દાદાર હોરમજદની મદદથી અે વીરાફ નામુ તમામ રામપુરણ કરીછે શાહી

અે વીરાફ નાંમુ આજ દંને રામપુરણ કીધી શંવત ૧૯૦૪ના વૈશાખ શુદી ૨ વાર રવેઉ રોજ ૨૦ મો બેહેરામ ઈરજગર માહ ૯ મો કદમી આદર ઈજદ માહ ૮ મો રશમી આંવાં ઈજદ શને ૧૨૧૭ ઈઅજદજરદી તા. ૧૩ મી બેહે શને ૧૮૪૬ અંગરેજી અે દીને અે વીરાફ રામાપત કીધી

અે કીતાબનો લખનાર મોબેદાંને મોબેદ
જંહાંગીરજી વલદે દરાતુરાને દરાતુર શોરાબજી
કુમાંનાં વાશી શી શુરત નગરી.

We see from this colophon that this manuscript is about 74 years old. Now this version is not a new version from the original Persian, but it is version of the versified version of Dastur Rustam Peshotan. Dastur Rustam Peshotan's version is very difficult to understand. The late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, who edited Dastur Rustam's Shiavakhsh-namah, had to give a rather long glossary for it. It seems that the writer of this version of Rustam's version, finding the original version difficult to understand by ordinary readers of his time, thought it advisable to render it into simple Gujarati of his time. There are several facts which make it evident that this is a version of Dastur Rustam Peshotan's Gujarati version :—

(1) In the preliminary or introductory part the writer refers to a teacher Burjo (Burjo Kamdin) just as Dastur Rustom has done (folio 2).

(2) The writer thus mentions Ervad Rustam, the original author, at the end (f. 128*b*):

આવે આજ ઍોશેદર હાં આવશે રાહી
ઍરવદ રૂશતંમ હેમ હાં ધણીના શુકરાંણે કહી

Here he thanks Ervad Rustam, the original author.

(3) There are numerous verses which show that Koomânâ has followed Rustam. As an instance, I give a few from the preliminary or introductory portion.

Rustam (f. 1 *b*)—

ગૂરાંણ ગૂર છે જરથુરાત અમારૂ
ઍે ધરમ મારગ મનિ દેખાડેઍો શારૂ
ઍે ધરમની ધણી હવે તંમ કરવી વાહાર
ઍે કલી કાલમાં હું રિહિચ તારે આધાર
આખર હજારિ ધરંમ નંદેઆ ધણી
હવે રાંભાલ કરૂં તંમ શાહેબ ધણી
અતી અતહિરૂ અમ ધણુંજ રાહીઍે
ઍેમ શાબર કરીઍે ખમણુ ખમી રહીઍે.

Koomana f. 1 *a*—

પેગંમબર જરથોરાત દીન લાવેઆ તમાંમ
ઍે જેહાંનમાં પરગટ કીંધી આંમ
પેગંમબર જરથોરાતી મારગ દેખાડેઍો શાર
ઍે ધરમની હવે કરવી વાહાર
આખર હજારેા છે ઍે ધરમની નંદેઆ ધણી
હવે રાંભાલ કરેા તમેા શાહેબ ધણી
ઍે પાપીનું જુઠું કેમજ રાહીઍે
હવે રાબુરી કરીને ઍે ખમણુ ખમી રહી હે.

As another instance for comparison of the language, let us take some verses after those of the account of the death of Dara at the hand of Alexander. Dastur Rustam Peshotan says (f. 23 *b*):

તેહેનુ મૂખ દેખી મન માઍેચ્યા આવી આંમ
તેહેનુ શીરા લેઈ આપ ખુલિ મૂકેઉ ઠામ
તેહેની મૂખ રચના જોઇને ઍેમ રહેઍેા રેાઈ
આપ કપાલ કૂટીને તિણિ કાહેડેઉ લેાહિ

Koomana renders this as follows :

તે દારાં શાહનુ મુખ દેખી મહેઆ આવીજ આમ
તીહીનુ શીરા લઈ આપ ખેલિ મુકીઉ ઠામ
તીહીનુ મુખ તુર જોઈ મહની દેલથી રહો રોઈ
પોટે કપાલ કુટીને કાહાદીઉ લોહી (ff. 9-10).

Both have given pictures, but they vary. I am not a connoisseur of art, but I think that the art, whatever it be, displayed in the older version is better than that of the later one. We also find in this later version of Koomana (f. 11 *b*) a very rough miniature of the funeral. But it differs from that in Peshotan's version in my manuscript and in the Paris manuscript. This seems to show that the later versifier Koomana did not attach much importance to the subject. He or his painter acted according to his fancy.

Koomana gives one picture (f. 6 *b*) which we do not find in the older version of Rustam Peshotan. It is given under the following red ink heading :

એ શાહ ,શીકંનદરે તલ વીખરી નાખેઆ તેનું તખત શીકંનદરનું.

i.e., The throne of Alexander from which he scattered the sesamum seeds. This subject refers to a story given by Nizami. It says, that when Alexander's messengers carried his letter to the court of Dara asking for submission, Dara gave to the messengers a ball, a bat and a box of sesamum seeds to signify that Alexander was still a boy who should better play with bat and ball than fight, and that, if he fought, he (Dara) would defeat him with an army as large in number as the sesamum seeds in the box. It is said that Alexander's courtiers, on receiving these things, tried to turn the scale upon Dara and asked Alexander to take all these as good omen. They explained that as a batsman throws a ball anywhere he likes, so he (Alexander) can show his strength anywhere in the world and conquer the world. They threw the sesamum seeds on the ground and they were soon swallowed by birds. So, Alexander would soon swallow (*i.e.*, conquer) the country of Iran and other countries. This story is illustrated in this picture which shows Alexander throwing with an uplifted hand the seeds from a horse. We see the seeds scattered in the vicinity. Though, as said above, the author, in his heading, speaks of Alexander as sitting upon the throne, in the miniature he is represented as riding a horse.

II.

The above examination of my manuscript of the Gujarati version of the Virâf-namah by Dastur Rustam Peshotan leads us to examine and see that the miniatures referrred to by Mr. Inostrantsev do not refer to a Parsi funeral of the 17th or 18th century as supposed by him.

The Introduction of the Pahlavi and Persian Virâf-namahs.

The Persian Virâf-namahs of which Dastur Rustam gives a version in his work, follows generally, with some exceptions in details, the Pahlavi Virâf-namah. The Pahlavi Virâf-namah begins with a reference to Alexander, who conquered Iran and burnt its religious and other literature in the royal archives of the Daz-i-Napisht, and says that Âdarbâd Mâraspand, the Iranian Savanarola, going through an ordeal, restored to some extent the old religion. It then introduces Ardai Virâf as bringing about, by his visit to the other world, further restoration. The Persian Virâf-namah makes a further mention and that is of the name of Ardeshir Babegan, the founder of the Iranian Renaissance after Alexander the Great. We find this in the Introductory part of the Persian prose Virâf-namah quoted and translated in the Pahlavi Virâf-namah by Drs. Hoshang and Haug (pp. XV-XIX and LXXXIV-LXXXVII). We find the same in the Persian Virâf-namah by the late Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji in his edition of the Pahlavi Virâf-namah (Pers. text pp. 1-4). Again, we find the same in the Persian Virâf-namah of Noshirwân Marzbân, given in the Darab Hormazdyar's Rivâyat.[1]

The Introduction of Dastur Rustam Peshotan's Gujarati Virâf-namah.

The Introductory part of Dastur Rustam's Gujarati version goes a little further into the past than those of the above Pahlavi and Persian Virâf-namahs. The following headings tell us what further matter he gives in his work.

(1) એ શાહ શીકંનદર નવીરાંનદા પાસે કાગલ લખાવે છે.[2]

(2) એ હકીકત શાહ દારાંની લખી છે

(3) એ હકીકત શાહ દારાંની લખી છે. શીકંદરે શાહ દારાં ઉપર કાગજ લખેએ.

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1 Darab Hormazdyar's Rivâyat by Maneckji R. Unvala with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 331-342.

2 In my copy there is a blank in the page under this heading, perhaps because the copyist found that part destroyed in the earlier manuscript from which he copied.

Here we find a miniature painting wherein a messenger presents an epistle (from Alexander) to a king sitting on his throne (Darius).

(4) શાહ દારાંએ શીકંદર ઉપર કાગળ લએલો Here there is a similar painting to show that Alexander receives a letter from Darius.

(5) શાહ સીકંદર લશકર લેઇને ઇરાન જમીન આવી પોહોચેએ. Here is a painting which shows Alexander marching towards Persia with his army.

(6) Then there is another painting with no heading as usual in red ink, to show what that part of the book refers to. But it seems that this painting represents Dara (Darius) marching with his army against Alexander.

(7) એ શફેદ ઘોડો દારાંનો ને શીહા ઘોડો શકંદરનો છે. Here is a painting showing Dara riding on a white horse and Alexander on a black horse, both meeting on a battle-field and raising arms against one another.

(8) શાહ શકંદર દારાંને પોતાનાં શરીર પર લઇ બેથો છે. Here is a painting which shows Dara fallen on the ground and Alexander holding his head on his lap. This shows that the battle took place and Dara was killed. Alexander, out of sympathy, sitsby Dara's side, laying his head on his lap. The sympathy was more due to the fact, that Iranian tradition represented that Alexander came down from a Persian ancestry and that he was a step-brother of Dara.

(9) શાહ દારાંને દખમે પોહોચાડિઆં, *i.e.*, King Dara was taken to the Tower of Silence. Here comes the particular miniature which forms the subject of Mr. Inostrantsev's Report.

Dastur Rustam Peshotan simply refers in passing to the disposal of the body of Dara in the Tower of Silence in the following three couplets (f. 24 *a*) :—

એ શરવ ઇરાની તમ એ શાહની કરૂ રાજાઈ
અવલ મનજલ તમ દાંમિ પુહુચાડૂ જાઈ
શીશ મૂકી તાંહાંથી ઊઠી ઉભા થાએઆ
એમ રદન કરી આપ દેહેરામાં ગએઆ
શરવ અતલગ શજંન મલી શાહનિ સાચવ્યા આંમ
શોવંન ગેહાનપર લઈ દાંમિ પુહુચાડિઆ ઠાંમ.

Translation.--(Alexander says) Ye all Iranians! Do all that is needful for this (Persian) king. Dispose of his body in the Tower (dâmi).[1] He (Alexander) leaving there the head (of Dara) got up from there and weeping thus went to his tent. All good near ones (of Dara) thus treated him; placing him on a golden (શોભન or handsome) bier carried him to the Dakhmâ.

We see from the above preliminary portion of the Gujarati Virâf-namah, that Dastur Rustam describes at first the war between Darius and Alexander who is referred to in the introductory part of the Pahlavi Virâf-nameh as bringing ruin upon Persia. The miniature painting, therefore, is not that of an ordinary funeral of a Parsi of the 17th or 18th century as supposed by Mr. Inostrantsev, but that of the funeral of King Dara (Darius), as conceived by a Persian writer of the 17th century. I think that the fact of the Virâf-namah having been written in Gujarati—and that very difficult old Gujarati,—which, at places, is not intelligible even to us, has somewhat misled the Russian scholar. He has allowed himself to be guided more by the miniature than by the—to him unintelligible—contents of the work.

If we compare the two miniatures—the one given by Mr. Inostrantsev from the Gujarati Virâf-namah (No. 76 in the National Library of Paris) and that in my copy of the book, we find a good deal of similarity. Mr. Inostrantsev says, that the miniature in the other manuscript of the above library is similar. So, it appears that the two manuscripts of the Gujarati versified version of Virâf-namah in the Paris National Library are copies of Dastur Rustam Peshotan's version.

Explanation of the Miniature Painting,

We will now try to understand the miniature given by Mr. Inostrantsev. Dastur Rustam Peshotan, or the painter of the miniature who drew it at his instructions, had to borrow the elements of the picture from two sources.

(1) The funeral ceremony as it prevailed at the time, *i.e.*, in the 17th Century and

(2) The funeral ceremony of a royal personage of the time of Darius and Alexander.

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[1] Dâmi (دمه). That the word dâmi is used for dakhmâ, appears from the fact, that the second version above referred to uses the word dakhmâ for Rustam's dâmi (આમ શોભન ગીઆનપર મેલી દખમે પોહોચાડેઆ થામ.) (f. 11 *a*).

There was no difficulty about the first, as the Dastur knew what it was. As to the second, he knew, that as Dara or Darius was a Parsi king, the main features of the ceremony must be the same, but there must be some additional appendage on account of the deceased being a king. If we bear this in mind, the details of the miniature seem to be clear. Some of the differences between the actual modern ceremony and that as conceived or suggested by the author of the miniatures can at once be explained, if we bear in mind, that the procession in this case is supposed to be direct from the battle-field where Dara was killed. This fact explains the following points which have perplexed Mr. Inostrantsev :—

(1) The head of the deceased is uncovered, because Dara is being carried direct from the battle-field to the place of the Tower of Silence, where the final ceremony was to be performed and the body disposed of. We learn from Rustam's Virâf-namah that Alexander had cut off the head of Dara. Dara's royal hat is lying on the ground (*vide* the preceding picture in my manuscript). Again, he is described as holding the severed head in his hand and as leaving it there on the battle-field before he went to his tent. We read (f. 24 *a.*) :

શીરા મૂકી તાંહાંથી ઊઠી ઊભા થાએચા

i.e., He (Alexander) leaving there the head (of Dara) got up from there. So, the carriers are supposed to have temporarily attached the head by some means to the body. Thus, we see, why the head is naked.

Our author says "There is no mention in the essay of Mr. Modi as to how the corpse has to be put on the stretcher. In the miniature in the Gujarati manuscript, the corpse dressed in white is lying with the face uncovered, when the bearers are carrying him head forward. (In the picture in Ms. N. 75 the corpse is being carried feet foremost.)" [1] The practice in India is that of putting the corpse on the bier feet foremost, as shown in the second miniature referred to by our author. The Faraziât-namah of Darab Pahlan says on this subject; كنه روي نسارا سوي دخمه *i.e.*, the face of the dead body shall point towards the Dakhmâ.

Besides the above clear facts, as expressed in the above referred to quotation from the text of the Gujarati Ardai Virâf, saying that the corpse was directed by Alexander to be carried

1 Journal, No. I, p. 73.

for disposal, the following facts lead to show, that the picture, though it is a picture of a funeral, is not the picture of a regular funeral for the disposal of the body in the Tower, after the last ceremony is performed, but the picture of simply carrying the corpse from the battlefield to the place of the Towers—something like that which we see at times in Bombay, of corpses being conveyed from Hospitals to the place of the Tower, where they are placed in a particular place for the last obsequies to be performed before the disposal of the body in the Tower.

(1) The head is uncovered. No Parsis of the 17th or the 18th century or even of the present century would ever think of carrying a body bareheaded to a Tower. Here, in the miniature it is the corpse of a king whose head was cut off on a battlefield that is being carried from there, for the last obsequies.

(2) The face is uncovered. In a regular Parsi funeral that is not the case.

(3) The dress of the carriers shows that they are not the regular nasâsâlârs or carriers clothed in all white. At least their head-dress clearly shows this.

(4) The uncovered hands without gloves also show that it is not a regular funeral.

(5) The two well dressed persons carrying flags show that there is something unusual, not seen in a Parsi funeral. Here, the body is that of a king who is being carried from a battlefield in a procession, and so, men with flags form a proper appendage.

(6) The presence of a horse in the procession also shows that there is something unusual. The horse is without a rider, and he represented the horse (of Darius) whose rider is killed in the battle.

(7) The drawings of the Tower and the Sagdee in the picture show that the procession is represented as having entered into the premises of the Tower. So, the presence of more than one dog there is natural. At the Towers they generally keep more than one dog, to be used when more than one funeral come in at the same time. Here the dogs are unchained and move about loose. This fact also shows that it is not the last formal funeral, during which the dog is carried with a chain by a person to the corpse for the *sagdid.*

Mr. Inostrantsev thinks that the hut in the picture, "the hut with the man sitting in front of the same, represents, most probably, either the house of the deceased or a special building, known as 'Nassakhanah.'" No, it is the *Sagri* near a Tower, where a fire or lamp is always burning.[1]

The entrance to the *Sagri* is small and very low down on the ground. This may perhaps surprise even a Parsi of the present generation who generally sees *sagris* of a better form. But I remember, seeing in my younger days *sagris* of the type in the picture under consideration. Formerly, they were generally small and low on the ground and their entrances were also small. Anybody who wanted to enter had to stoop down, and to go in, in something like a sitting posture. "The man sitting in front," as said by our author, seems to show him in the posture of entering it.

Our author says: "Unexplained from the Parsi ritual remains the representation of the two persons in front carrying banners and the saddled horse." He explains this by the analogy of some burial ceremonies of contemporary Musulman Persia. There is no need of such an explanation. The explanation is as given above. It is the preliminary funeral procession of a royal corpse being carried to the premises of the Towers from a battlefield. The writer of the Virâf-nâmah or the painter of the picture has dwelt upon his imagination, or on what he saw at Surat, to give an idea of the procession of the cortege of a royal personage like king Dara. In drawing upon his imagination, the writer or the painter may have had before him what he may have seen at the Mahomedan courts of the Nawâbs of Surat.

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1 Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis." (1922), p. 72.

APPENDIX.

Since writing the above, Mr. Beheramgor Tehemuras Anklesaria has kindly given me another *Ms.* of a Gujarati version of the Viraf-nameh. It begins with the usual Pahlavi and Persian forms of invocation and then has the following heading in red ink :—

"એ વીરાફ નાંમૂ શૂરત શાથે કેતાબ લખેલી હૂતી તેમાંથી શાદી કરી ઉતારી છે."

i.e., This Viraf-nameh has been copied after simplification from the one which was written with pictures.

The word શાદી (સાદી Pers. ساده *i.e.*, simple) makes it clear, that, according to the scribe, it is a simplified version from the original. He does not name the original, but, comparing the texts we easily find that it is a simplified rendering from the original of Rustam Peshotan. The simplicity is mostly in that of changing the old archaic forms of words of Rustam Peshotan into simple forms, so that the readers of the scribe's time can understand the book more easily. It is the rendering of a kind similar to that of the Manuscript referred to by me in my above paper. This simple rendering stands between the original of Rustam Peshotan and the rendering of the Kumânâ-text, which is much simpler than that of this version.

This Ms. has the following Gujarati colophon at the end.

ફરચેપદ પ દરદ શાદી વ રાંમશની અંદર રોજ મખારક મીનો રામ ખ માહે મખારક ખુરદાદ અમશારપંદ પારશી શને ૧૧૭૦ એજદે-જરદી. તારીખ...(1)... માંહે..... શને ૧૨૧૫ હીજરી એ દંને કેતાખી વીરાફ શમાપરેણ કીધી. હેનો લખનાર મોબેદ ખાકશાર મોબેદ રશતમ વલદ, શોહરાબ ખીન ખોરશેદ ખી. મેહેરનોશ ઉડકે મનોચેર હોમજીનાંએ પોતાને જોવાસારૂ બીજી કેતાબથી મીશફરદો કરી લીધિ છે શહી. હેના જુજ ગનતીએ બાર ૧૨ લખેલા છે સહી.

Translation :—Finished with salutation, joy and pleasure on the auspicious day Mino, (*i. e.*, spiritual) Ram in auspicious month Khurdâd Amshâspand, Parsi year 1170 Yazdezerdi. Day[1] ..... month ..... year 1215 Hijri. The book of Viraf is finished on this day. Its writer is Mobed humble, (*i.e.*, dust-like) Mobed Rustom, son of Sohrab, son of Khorshed, son of Mehernosh surnamed Minocher Homji. (He) has copied it for looking into it for himself from another book. Its juzs are written 12, twelve by calculation.

The Gujarati colophon is followed by a colophon in Persian verses. I give below some extracts from this writer and Rustam Peshotan and Kumânâ to show, how the later versions are simplified.

Rustam Peshotan's version (f. 26).

તાંહાંથી ધરમી લોક શરવ નાહાશી ગએઆં
દુગર ગારમાં જાઇ તે છાંનાં રહેઆં
એ ધરમનું તાંહાં શરવ મેલવેએા શાજ
હીદોલા ચલાવી તાંહાં ધરતાતા બાજ.
ચેઆર પંચ બિશી એ દીનનું એમ બાંધેએા બંધ
એક દરેમેહેર શમરાવી તાંહા શરવ બેશી પઢતાતા જંદ.
એક દાવર પરડી તેહેનું એમ ધરેઉ નામ
દશતૂર હોકંમ લેઇ શરવ લેતાતા કાંમ.
પરથંમ આતશ બિહિરામ પરઠેઆ તેણિ ઠાંમ
વલતી હીદોલા બાજનૂ ચલાવેઉ કાંમ.
તે ધરમીએ એમ ધરંમ જાળવેએા ખાશ
તાંહાં ધરંમ રખણીનું શરવે લેતા તપાશ.
ગહંબાર પરભ શરવે પૂન કરતા કાંમ
નવ નર બિશીનિ નેઆવ અનશાફ કરતાતા આંમ.

Minocher Homji's Ms. (folio 7.)

તાંહાંથી શરવ ધરમી લોક નાહાશીને ગએઆં
દુગર ગારમાંહાં જાંઇને છાનાં રહેઆં

[1] It seems, that the writer of the version of the scribe intended to give the Mahomedan day and month, but, not knowing them at the time, left blanks which he forgot to fill up later on.

એ ધરમનો તાંહાં મેળવેઓ શાજ
ઇજશને ધાહા ચલાવી તાં ધરતાતા બાજ.
એ ચેઆર પંચ બેશી એ દીનનો એમ બાંધેઓ બંધ
એક દરેમેહેર શમરાવી તાંહાં બેશી તાંહાં પહડતા જંદ.
એક દાવર પર પરહી તેહેનું એમ ધરીઙિં નામ
દશતુર હોકમ લેઈ શરવ કરતા કામ
પરથમ આતશ બેહેરામ પરહેઆ તેહેને ઠાર
પછે હીદોલા બાજનો ચલાવેઓ કાર
તે ધરમીએ એમ ધરમ જલએઓ બાશ
તાંહાં ધરમ રાખણીનો શરવ લેતા તપાશ
ધમબાર પરભનું તાંહાં કરતા કામ
નવ મરદ બેશીને નેઆ અનશાફ કરતા આંમ.

Kumânâ (folio 12 *a*).

તાંહાંથી શરવે ધરમી લોકો તો નાહાશી ગએઆ
પાહાડ ડુંગર ગાડમાં નાહાશી જાઈ છાંના રહેઆ
તાંહાં નાહાશી જાઈ એ ધરમનો તે મેલાવેઓ શાજ
હીધોલા માંડી ઇજશને વંદીદાદ કરી ધરતાતા બાજ.
તાંહાં શરવે મોબેદ દશતુર અંનજુમન બેશી એમ બાંધેઓ
દીનનો બંધ.
એક દરેમેહેર નવી બાંધી તાંહાં પડતા હતા જંદ.
એક અધેકારી દાવર પરથી તીહીનું ધરીઙિ નાંમ
દશતુરોનો હુકમ લઇને શરવે કરતાતા કામ
પરથમ આતેશ બીહીરામ પરહીઆ તીણી થાંમ
પછી ઇશજને વંદીદાદ મીઅજદનું ચલાવેઙિ કાંમ
તાંહાં ધરમી લોકોહે ધરમ ચલાવીઓ બાશ
તાંહાં ધરમ રખણીનું શરવે લેતા તપાશ.
ગહંબાર જશન શરવે કરતાતા કામ
નવ નર બેશી મશલત કરતાતા આંમ.

A NOTE[1] ON THE "PARSEE MASSACRE AT VARIÂV."

According to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan,[2] there was an old Parsee settlement at Variâv, near Surat. Some recent writings[3] refer to a fight or massacre at this place, wherein many Parsees, especially women, were killed. The Parsees of Malesar at Naosari still observe the day of the massacre on Parsee Roz 29, Mah 1 by celebrating the Baj, *i.e.*, by performing the annual funeral ceremony. Recently, a Parsee Journal cast some doubts on the authenticity of the event, on the ground, that something more authentic must be pointed out to prove the authenticity of the event. In my paper on "An Old Manuscript of the Kitâb-i-Darun Yashtan,"[4] read before the Jarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnâri Mandli, I drew attention to a reference to the event of the massacre in that manuscript, written in Samvat 1806, *i.e.*, about 173 years ago. In an Appendix[5] to that paper, I drew attention to an older manuscript, a Disâ Pothi, written in Samvat 1793, *i.e.*, about 186 years ago. In a post-script to that appendix,[6] I referred to another older Disâ Pothi, written in Samvat, 1782 *i.e.*, about 197 years ago. Thus, I showed that there was some truth in the statements of the later writers about the event which seemed to be authentic. Now, the object of this Note is to refer to a still older book, written more than 300 years ago, wherein the event is referred to. The reference in this book further shows the authenticity of the event.

The book,[7] I want to refer to in this Note, is that of Rev. Henry Lord, written in A.D. 1621, *i.e.*, about 301 years ago.

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1 This note was read before the Jarthoshti Din ni Khol Karnâri Mandli, at its sitting of 15th December 1922, Samvat 1979, 1292 A. Y.

2 *Vide* my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their Dates," p. 14.

3 (*a*) The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX., Part II, Gujarat Population, p. 186. *Vide* the separate publication of the writers entitled "Gujarat Parsees," p. 4. (*b*) *Vide* Mr. S. M. Desai's Tavârikh-i-Naosari., pp. 353-55.

4 Published in the Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. I, p. 17.

5 Ibid, p. 31.

6 Ibid, p. 32.

7 "A Discovery of two foreign sects in the East-Indies, *viz.*, the Sect of the Banians, the ancient natives of India, and the Sect of the Per-

He was at Surat as the Chaplain of the English factors for several years. Lord, in his Introduction, says, that his information was obtained from "one of their (*i.e.*, the Parsees') churchmen called their Daroo,[1] and by the interpretation of a Persee, whose long employment, in the Company's service, had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue." He refers to this event in the first chapter "declaring who these Persees are, their ancient place of abode, the cause of relinquishing their own Country, their Arrival in East India, and their abode there." At first, under the marginal heading of "oppressed by the Mahometans," he thus speaks of the cause of their coming to India. "The Mahometans upon the death of Yezdegerd, carried all in conquest before them, and subjected the natives of the country as vassals unto them; and, as new lords bring in new laws, they contented not themselves to bring them to their form of government in state subjection, but also in matters of religion, to live according to Mahomet's constitutions, compelling them to be circumcised according to the Mahometan custom, contrary to the form of their own religion and worship. These Persees, not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law, and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape, and as close conveyence as they might of their goods and substance, determined a voyage for the Indies, purposing to prove the mildness of the Banian Rajahs, if there, though they lived in subjection for matter of government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in course of religion." Lord then speaks of their coming to the shores of the Persian Gulf and embarking from a place named Jasques on a fleet of seven juncks. He then speaks of their coming to Sanjan, and it appears, from what he says of the treaty with the Raja, that the same Raja ruled over Nuncery (Naosari) and Sanjan. The Parsees in five of the seven juncks or boats thus treated with the Raja who ruled over all the regions including Naosari and Sanjan. Then, he thus speaks of the Parsees in the other two juncks: "The other two juncks remaining, one of them put into the road of Swaley,[2] and treated with a Rajah that then

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sees, the ancient inhabitants of Persia, together with the Religion and Manners of each sect, in two parts, by Henry Lord, sometime resident in East-India, and Preacher to the Honourable Company of Merchants trading thither." This book is included in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels. The section of the Parsees is at pp. 328-42. The first edition as a separate book was published in 1630.

1 For the word Dâroo, *vide* my Paper on "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat" (J. B. B. R. A. S. of 1916, Vol. XXIV, p. 386). *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab, p. 71.

2 Modern Sumâri.

resided at Bariaw near unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former ;[1] but the Rajah of that place, having wars with a neighbouring Rajah, who got the conquest, the Persees that resided with the conquered, were all put to the sword, as adherents to the Enemy." Then Lord says, that the seventh junck went to Cambay and was received by the ruling power there " upon the prementioned conditions."

It would seem that the details of what happened at Sanjan, according to the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, at the time of the invasion of Mahomed Begadâ, have been transferred by Lord to Bariâv also. But, however that may be, there is no good reason to doubt the main fact, recorded by Lord, of a defeat and a massacre of Parsis at Bariâv (Variâv). Thus, in his book written in 1621 A.C. *i.e.*, about 301 years ago, we find an older authority than that of the three Parsee manuscripts referred to above. Lord does not give the date of the event but merely refers to a massacre at Variâv (Bariâw). So, it appears certain, that the event happened some time earlier, much earlier than 1621 A.D.

The later oral tradition, as recorded in the above Bombay Gazetteer of Sir James Campbell, and in Mr. Sorabji Desai's History of Naosari connects the event with a massacre of women first and then of men. Mr. Desai attributes it to differences with the adjoining Bhils ; the Gazetteer to differences with the Rajput chief of Ratanpur. The latter seems to be more probable, and Lord's account seems to support it. Both the Gazetteer's account and Mr. Desai's account associate women specially with the event and speak of their bravery. But Lord does not refer to any special part played by the women. Again, our own three authorities, the Kitâb-i-Darun Yasht and the two Disâ-pothis do not refer to any special part played by women. The Kitâb-i-Darun Yasht speaks of "ગુજરાતમાં આવ પછી મારામેઆ." These Gujarati words seem to refer to a massacre, of the males, not of females. Had there been an *anuswâr* over the final letter â (આ).), we could have positively said, that both males and females were included. But, anyhow these words do not seem to associate the event specially with women. Again, the words of the first Disâ-pothi are રામરાત વરીઆવા બેહેદીન. They also do not indicate anything special about women ; but, at the same time, they do not exclude women. In the same way, the second Disâ-pothi also does not specialise women but speaks generally. Lord also does not refer to women. So, it seems, that we must wait till some further authority is discovered to connect the event particularly with women.

[1] *i.e.*, conditions similar to those with the Rajah at Sanjan.

A FEW NOTES ON THE PAHLAVI TREATISE OF DRAKHT-I ASURÎK.*

I.

This paper has been suggested to me by a brief study of a paper, entitled "Drakht-i-Asurik," by Dr. Jamshedji Maneckji Unvala, published in a recent "Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution" (Vol. II, Part IV., pp. 637-678). Dr. Unvala gives his "wording of the text" and translation with copious notes, all preceded by a Preface. As he says in the Preface (p. 640), his "wording of the text is based mostly on the text published in the Pahlavi Texts," edited by Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana (pp. 109-114), published in 1913 with an excellent Introduction by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria.[1] The Pahlavi text was, ere this, published and lithographed by Mon. E. Blochet in the "Revue de L'Histoire des Religions" (Tome XXXII (1895), Lithographed Pahlavi, pp. 18-23) under the heading "Textes Pehlvis inédits relatifs à la Religion Mazdéenne." This text is the seventh or the last of the seven texts published and translated with notes by M. Blochet in the Review.[2]

Blochet calls this text an "apologue,"[3], *i.e.*, a moral fable and says: "Cette fable est tirée bu manuscript Supplément persan, no. 1216, p. 1-4, La copie est très moderne et en beaucoup d'endroits fautives. "[4] He, in his "Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale" (p. 68), speaks of the above "supplément persan 1216," as "Recueil de différents traités zends et pehlvis" and of this Pahlavi text as "Fable pehlvie, contenant une descussion entre un chêne et une chèvre

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* This paper was read before the Jarthoshti Dən-ni khol karnâri Mandl on 27th July 1923.

1 Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria had also, with his learned father, the late Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, a great and important hand in the preparation and publication of the Texts.

2 Two texts precede pp. 99-115 of the Translation and Notes. This text precedes p. 217.

3 Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (1895), Vol. 32, p. 233.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 236-37.

sur la question de savoir lequel des deux est le plus utile á l'homme."[1]

Dr. West, in his article on Pahlavi Literature (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie I Bank II, p. 119), speaks of this treatise as " Darakht-i-Asûrîg ", professing " to be an alter cation between a tree growing in the country of Asûr and a goat, in which both state their claims to being more useful than the other to mankind. "

Thus, we see that five Iranian Scholars have more or less referred to this text. Three of them—Blochet, Jamaspji and Unvala—have published the text- Two of them—Blochet and Unvala—have also translated it. One of them—Behramgore—has given a purport of it in his Introduction (pp. 37-39) ot Jamaspji's edition. West has very briefly said what it contains. The story in brief is, that a certain tree says to a goat, that it (the tree) is more useful to mankind than the goat. The tree enumerates the different uses for which it is used. Then, the goat runs down the tree and advances its own claim as being more useful to mankind than the tree, the tree of Asûr.

The writer does not give the title of the writing. What Blochet says[2] generally of the Pahlavi writings is true of this also, that it bears no name. Dr. Unvala, in his article, heads the text as " Drakht-i-Asurîk " in Pahlavi. But he has added the heading from himself. It does not occur in the texts given by Blochet and Jamaspji. In the text itself, the tree is referred to in four places by name:

1. In the very beginning (S. 11)[3], it is spoken of as " the tree which grows on the frontiers of the country (city) of Asurik (drakht âi rôst aest (ast) levîn an shatra Asûrîk)."

2. Then in S. 20, as " drakht-i-Asurîk."[4]

3. Then in S. 45, as " drakht-i-Asurîk."

4. Then in S. 48, as " drakht-i-Asurîk."

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1 *i. e.*, " A Pahlavi fable containing a discussion between an oak and a she-goat on the question as to which of the two is most useful to mankind."

2 " L'ouvrage (Bundehesh) est absolument anonyme et sans titre, comme d' ailleurs malheureu3sement, presque tous les livres pehlvis" (Le Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 1895, Vol. XXXII, p. 100).

3 I give the figures as given by Jamaspji.

4 Unvala adds here and in the following an ' ' of his own. The other texts do not give it.

Thus we see that the tree is spoken of thrice as "Darakht-i-Asurik," and in one place only, and that in the very beginning, as "the tree growing on the frontiers of the Asurik country or the Country of Asur." The kind or the species of the tree is not mentioned at all. On the other hand, the animal, with which there has arisen the question of superiority, is mentioned clearly as goat ((buz 𐬚𐬀𐬵)).

II.

Now the question I propose determining is: Which is the tree referred to as the Darakht-i-Asurîk? Of all the five scholars referred to above, four do not say what the tree is. Bloche, only says what tree it is, and that even, not in his article of translation and notes in the Review of the History of Religions but in his above-mentioned Catalogue of the Iranian MSS. in the National Library of Paris. He speaks of the tree in French as " chêne " which means an " oak ". West does not say what tree it is. Behramgore does not say what tree it is, but he seems to take it to be a large tree with hard wood. Unvala also does not say what that tree is, but from his rendering of several words, he seems to take it for a large tree like the oak. I beg to submit that the tree is the date-palm. All the various uses which the tree claims for itself do not suit the oak, but they suit the date-palm. We will look into the properties claimed by the tree, to see, that they all suit the date-palm. In doing so, I will submit my Notes on some words here and there, where I differ from the learned scholars who have written on the subject. The properties and uses are the following[1]:

(1.) Dry trunk (dûn khûshk).

(2.) Green top (sar lachin)[1].

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[1] Blochet reads the words as *razin* and says: "*Razin* est l'équivalent, de *tar*, qui signifie, en persan, humide, mouille et de là, en pârlant d' une plante, vert, verdoyant," *i.e* 'Razin is the equivalent of *tar* which signifies in Persian, ' humid' ' watery, ' and from that, on speaking of a plant 'green verdent' (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (1895), Vol, 32, p. 237). Unvala follows Blochet, and translates the word as "Moist. " He says. "The copyist has written the ideogram for *tar* 'aside, besides,' instead of 𐭲𐭫 'tarr fresh,' M.P. تر." Blochet calls this " an abusive use in Pahlavi" of a " synonyme de *tar* pour traduire le zend *tarô* dans des expressions ou il a un sens tout différent." Such an "abusive use " of synonyms is possible. We find such misuse in the Persian rendering of a word in the Pahlavi Vandidad (Ch. V. s. 36). In the Avesta of this section, we

(3) Fibres (straight) like canes (rish kanya)[1].

(4) Fruits like grapes (bar manêd angûr).

(5) Sweet produce (bâr shirîn).

(6) Fruits eaten by kings.

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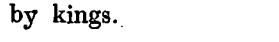
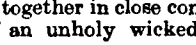
read, that Ahura Mazda, in reply to a question as to how many persons out of all those who are sitting together in close contact with a dead body *e.g.*, on a carpet, are defiled, if an unholy wicked person dies in their midst, says:



i.e., (such a wicked man is) like a frog whose poison is dried up (hushk P. خشک) and which has been dead more (taro) than a year ago." Now the word taro ( ) in the Avesta is used in this sense of "over, beyond, outside" (Vend. III. 29; XIV 16; XV 9, 10, &c.). So he first Pahlavi translator very properly seems to have rendered it by the ideagram (levin, read also rôîn or rûîn. Hoshang's Vend. glossary, p. 200) which means " before, in front, foregoing." But the gloss of it in Persian is given as *i.e.*, moist. The Persian commentator took the Pahlavi rendering 'levin' of the Avesta to mean moist (Hoshang's Pahlavi Vendidad, p. 178, n. 4.) He was misguided by the Avesta word *tarô* which he took to correspond to Persian Again, finding the word 'khushk' dry' preceding it, he was easily misled to take this word for 'moist' and so gave it as The word in the text is the same as .

But, though this abusive use is possible, I beg to suggest another derivation. It is from the Avesta root Sans. रिच् Lat. licere, licetare, linquere, to leak Pers. ریختن It is the root which we find in our English word 'Irrigate' Cf.  (Vend. XIV. 13) 'irrigating twice.' Again, in the light of what Hoshangji says, as mentioned above, one may be tempted to read the word *roin* or ruin, *i.e.*, 'foregoing' and take it to mean 'lofty.' In that case, the word may be taken to be the same as Pers. raiwan (ریوَن) *i.e.* "preceding." The words may then mean "lofty top" and they also suit a characteristic of the date tree.

1 Kanyâ, Pahl. Vend V., 44. Arab, قناة a cane.

(7) Plates of a weaver's shuttle (makukân[1] takht).

(8) Canopy[2] of the sails of ships (bâd bânân بادبانان)

(9) Brooms to sweep houses (jinâk rub ....mun mân virâ-zend.)

(10) Stick for beating oxen, while separating grain from straw (Gawâz[3]....mun kupend gâh va beranj).

(11) Bellows for blowing fire (daminak (p. دمسه)....âtashan vazâi).

(12) Shoes[4] of the farmers (mok-i-varzegarân. p. موزه).

(13) Shoes of the bare-footed (nakhlân-i-barhanè-pâyân. p. نخلم shoes. نخلم is also a palm-tree. So perhaps, the shoes were so-called, because they were at first prepared from palm-trees).

(14) The rope (rasan Arab. رسن) with which goats' feet are tied.

(15) The stick (P. chûb) which they put[5] on the necks (gardan گردن) of the cattle.

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1 مکوک a weaver's shuttle.

2 فرسپ "Tapestry with which they adorn the walls on feast days" (Steingass). Unvala translates it as 'cloth.' It Seems to be the same as the Avesta word " fraspât" (Yasht XV, 2, 7, 11) in the sense of " canopy." I have seen, in some parts of the Chinese Sea, sails made of a kind of matting.

3 جمدسکه Pers. گواز an ox-goad. I think, it is a reference to the process of separating grain from the husk, in which process the ox is made to walk over the Stalks of the rice-plants. Unvala seems to have taken the tree to be the oak, and so he takes *gawâz* for mortar (P. گواز means mortar also).

4 Unvala, perhaps with the idea of taking the tree to be the oak, adds in bracket the word " wooden " before " shoes."

5 Behramgore and Unvala take the word ماچند *mâchend* from Pers. *mâchidan*, to kiss, and translate, " the stick wherewith they kiss (machend) the two apples of the neck " (Behramgore), or "the post with which they kiss thy neck " (Unvala). But I think, that to speak of a stick or a piece of wood, put round the neck of a goat or an ox to prevent it from running away easily, as " kissing the neck " of the goat is too dignified or high-flowing a way of speech to be applied to a goat. Blochet translates as : baton avec lequel on te fait courber le col" (p.234). (The stick with which they bend down the neck.) So, he does not take the word mâchend in the sense of " kissing," but in that of 'bending.'

(16) The peg (mîkh 𐬨𐬀𐬴) by which they hang the head down. (This refers to the practice of hanging the carcase of the slaughtered animal by its feet with a view to dress it properly.)

(17) Chips of wood for roasting (you) the goat.[1]

I derive the words 𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬰 𐬛𐬀𐬱𐬀 from Avesta 𐬌𐬀𐬙-𐬛𐬀𐬱𐬀 Sans. प्रति-मुच् i.e., to place over, Our Gujerati word મુકવું comes from this root 𐬌𐬀𐬰 which we find in Lat. e-*mung*-ere, to lay aside.

1 The sentence runs thus:

𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬰 𐬛𐬀𐬱𐬀 𐬌𐬀 𐬨𐬀𐬵 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬵 𐬨𐬀𐬵 𐬙𐬀𐬵 𐬎𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬀𐬵

Chibâ humanam âtarân mun lak sich barizend. In this sentence Blochet gives the last but one word as 𐬛𐬀 instead of as 𐬛𐬱𐬀 and he translates the sentence as follows: " Je deviens le combustible du feu avec lequel on te rèchauffe durant les rigueurs de l' hiver,, (*i.e.*, "I become the combustible of fire with which they warm thee during the rigour of winter.)"

In the first place, I think the word 'sij' or 'saj,' as given by Blochet, is miswritten. In his Notes he (p. 238, Note 26) gives the word as "*sij, sej*,Zend *ithyêjô*." The Pahlavi of the Avesta word is 𐬛𐬱𐬀 as given in Dastur Jamaspji's text. From what I had heard at the time, Dastur Jamaspji himself had given a copy of some of his rare Pahlavi texts—and among them of this text—to Darmesteter, when he was in Bombay in 1887, and, I think, that the text, which Blochet handles in his translation and which he has given as " supplement Persan 1216 " in his Catalogue (p. 68) formed a part of Darmesteter's collection presented to the Bibliothèque Nationale by Mme. Mary Darmesteter in 1895 (*vide* Blochet's Catalogue, Preface p. 2). So, I think, the word, as he has given it, is miswritten. Leaving aside the question of the reading of the word, I do not understand how Blochet has arrived at the translation which he gives, *viz.*, "warming the goat during the rigour of winter." The rendering is far-fetched and we do not know on what ground he has based that rendering. Unfortunately he is silent on the point in his Notes.

Behramgore Anklesaria gives the rendering as " Fuel am I of the fires wherewith, too, they roast thee" (Introduction of the Pahlavi texts p. 38). He seems to have taken the word ' sich' for a word carring the idea of "too." The last letter ' ch' seems to have led him to that interpretation.

Unvala translates: "I am the fuel of the fire which roast thee completely. " He takes the word in qüestion to be the same as modern Persian سیخ *sich*, " preparation, order" and says: " Most probably the meaning " preparation " is developed from the original meaning ' pain,' ' the successful passing through pain,' and hence preparation..... Here of course I take the verb adverbially through and through, and the

(18) Shade[1] in summer.

(19) The seat[2] of cultivators.

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expression *sez bristan* equal to modern Persian سخت بوشتن "to cook thoroughly." This seems to be much far-fetched, and so, he very rightly hesitates to accept this as a correct rendering and adds: "or does the word signify some product of the goat"?

Thus, we see, that the word *sich* troubles all the above three learned scholars. I think the difficulty is solved, if you take the word to be the same as Pers. سیخ 'a roasting-spit,' a word which we Parsees stil use as (ગુજરાતી) સીક. The word સીક is given in the Gujarati and English Dictionary, compiled by Mirza Mahomed Cauzim and Nowrozjee Furdoonjee (1846) as meaning "a spit, an iron rod for roasting meat" (p. 377). The authors derive the word from P. سیخ The word chîbâ (which is also found as chîpâ, *vide* Glossary of the Viraf-nameh by Hoshang-Haug, p. 127) means "fire wood," as well as "chips of wood, sticks" (*Ibid*). Now, here, the reference seems to be to the practice in the East, which we saw upto a few years ago in Bombay and which we still see in some centres of date-palms, such as Naosari, Surat, Gundavee, &c. People going on picnic parties to drink *toddy*, the juice of the date-palm, under the date-palms, get some palm-branches cut and prepare chips from the hard portion of its wood and then pierce pieces of mutton through it to be roasted in fire. The practice is known to many of us who have attended such toddy picnic parties at Naosari. Bearing this fact in mind, and taking the word *sich* to be the same as Pers. سیخ *Sîkh*, our modern Parsee Gujerati *sik* સીક, the difficulty is solved and the translation is easy as "I am (*i.e.*, I form) the chips of wood with the roasting spits of which they roast thee on fire.

1 The word asayê is Pers. سایه 'shade,' Gujerati છાયો. But, as it is used in connection with *shatradârân* or *Shehrdârân i.e.*, rulers of cities, Blochet and Behramgore take it as referring to umbrellas held over kings. The proper word for umbrella is سایه بان *saye-ban* and so, I agree with Unvala, and say that the word simply refers to the shade given to all, even to kings, by the palm. For what we know, the umbrellas of kings are made of richer stuffs than date-palm leaves.

2 This word is variously read. Blochet reads it as "arsh" and puts the mark of question (?), to doubt whether the reading is correct. He says: "Je ne connais aucun mot iranien ou sèmitique, qui puisse en etre rapproché. La lecture en est aussi douteuse que le sens" (p. 238). Then hesitatingly he says: "La phrase signifie mot a mot: Je suis l'arsh (?) (ruche.) des ouvriers en miel." So, Blochet hesitatingly takes the word for bee-hive (ruche). Behramgore reads the word as *kharya*. To him, the meaning seems to be unintelligble. Unvala takes it to be an ideogram for *shakr*, *i.e.*, sugar. The ideogram for *shakr* (sugar) in the Pahlavi Pazend glossary is âtôr (Hoshang-Haug, Chap. V).

I read the word as *arsh*, Arab. عرش which has several meanings, such as, "throne, chair of state, roof of a house, a tent," &c. It also means

(20) A place of conversation (gob-gac) ?[1]

(21) A grainary.[2]

(22) Medicine chest (P. دارودان).

"stay, support." So, I think the word may mean 'a seat" a tent or shed. It refers to the use of the palm leaves, both for matting and for tent-like huts or sheds, by poor cultivators; or it may be taken in the sense of the word, "support" and to refer to the fact that the poor live upon the fruits of the palm trees. Again, the word can also be read as kharsh, and, in that case, it may be the same as Arabic خرش meaning "earning sustenance for one's family." In that case, it may be taken in the second meaning of the above word 'arsh.'

1 Blochet takes the word to mean "miel," *i.e.*, honey. We find the word in the Pahlavi Pazend glossary (Hoshang-Haug, p. 121), read as *gobashya*. Then, it is added in a bracket that "it ought to be read "dobashya." The meaning of the word is given as 'honey.' It is said to be the same as *angmîn* 𐬀𐬀𐬌𐬨𐬌𐬥 (*ibid.* p. 63), Pers. انگبین Blochet with some hesitation tranlates the sentence containing this and the preceding words as "Je suis l'*arsh* de ceux qui recueillent le miel." Beiehramgore finds it difficult to understand this word. He simply gives thb meaning of the sentence as "I am the *kharya* of the farmers, the *gohashyâ* of the nobles." I am not sure of my reading. Unvala translates tne sentence as, "I am the sugar of the cultivators and the honey of the noble." The meaning seems probable, if we take it, that the reference is to the preparation of sugar from the juice of the palm and to the preparation of honey by the bees from its flowers or juice. But, as the uses mentioned above and below the one in question, do not refer to its use as any food, but to its use for the ordinary purposes other than that of food, I do not think that this meaning will do. I think that just as the above *arsh* refers to some kind of seat, this word also may be taken for a similar purpose. So, I am inclined to take it as gob-gâs, *i.e.*, a parlour, a place where noblemen may sit and talk. It seems to refer to some ornamental arbour made of the branches of the date-palm. As said above, I am a little doubtful of my rendering. If we accept the rendering of Unvala for this and the preceding word as "sugar and honey," which on the face seems to be possible, then it may be said in upport, that both sugar and honey are made from dates of the date palm.

2 Blochet divides the word as 𐬎𐬀 ı 𐬱 and translates as "rouet et le fuseau" (p. 234), *i.e.*, "a spinning wheel and a spindle." Behramgore takes it for tafang تفنگ a musket. Unvala takes the word for chest. The word is used in that sense in the Pahlavi Vendidad (VII, 48), where Dastur Dorabji takes it for 'chest' (*Vide* his Pahl. Vend. p. 124, n. 3). I take the word in the sense of Pers. تپنگو *tapangû*, which means "a grainary" (Steingass). We know, that even now, in some parts of Gujarat they make large baskets from palm-leaves to store grain.

(23) Growth form seeds.[1]

(24) Nest of birds (asyân murvijgân).

(25) shelter to workers[2] (سایه کاریگران)

(26) Bunches of date-fruits which serve as food, hanging from the top.[3]

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1 This subject does not seem to have been properly understood by Blochet and Unvala. Behramgore has not given its purport, Blochet has taken the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌 as khastê خستہ with the preceding sentence translating it as *fatigues, i.e.*, fatigued. Unvala has done the same. I think Behramgore Anklesaria is quite right in ending the preceding sentence with 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌. The next word, which Blochet and Unvala have wrongly read *khaste* P. خستہ is pers. haste هسته " fruit-stone " (Steingess. *Vide* also in Wollaston's English-persian Dictionary, p. 1239. the word "stone" where the word for " seeds of fruit " is given as *hasté*). I read the sentence as follows : "*Haste barâ ramtûnam povan nôk bûm rust amat arzend mardûme âigham barâ lâ vinâsend*", *i.e.*, when they throw my stones in new ground, I grow up (as a tree). When people (thus) appreciate me they do not destroy me (*i.e.*, my stones or seeds). Here the reference is to the fact that when the seeds or stones of the date-fruit are thrown on the ground after the fruit is eaten and when they fall on good soil, they shoot forth as new date plants. For this purpose people do not destroy the stones of the fruit, but collect them.

2 Reading the word as *kârigarân* as given in the foot note in Dastur Jamaspji's text.

3 This seems to be a difficult passage. Blochet reads it as "boya-hûnâm havâ-it zargûn (ou zarin) datâm yôm shavet (Pers shaved)" and translates as ; "Je desire que durant tout le jour existe pour eux de la fraîchour" (*i.e.*,) I desire that during the whole day there may be freshness for them. He is not sure of this reading and translation and therefore says ; "Cette traduction est conjecturale." Unvala translates ; "I wish ; may there be golden-coloured rivers". He reads 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 as vêdân and translates it as rivers, comparing the word with Avesta vaidhi in Vendidad (V. 5) where Bartholomae takes it for kanal (ana ta vaidhîm; *i.e.*, entlang dem Kanal. *i.e.*, along the canal. Altiranisches Wörterbuch 1344). The word in that sense can be derived from *vad*, Sans. उन्द् to moisten lat. *unda* (cf. inundation). But Unvala very properly says about his translation : The above translation remains doubtful," because here the idea of a river does not fit in.

I read and translate the whole passage as follows, following in the reading of the first word; and the last but one word, the collation as given in the foot-note :—

Bareshnûm hûmanét zargûn vidân benman shavêt zakach mardu-mak munash lavît ash va lokhmâ mîn lé bâr i vashtmund hambord âvikhtind, *i.e.*, on my head (or top) there grow (humanêd, lit. happen)

All the qualities and uses of the tree, enumerated above tend to show, that the tree is the date-palm. The reference in the very begining to the trunk being dry and the top moist points to the date-pâlm, which oozes at the top and gives the sweet juice of toddy. The oak does not give any sap at the top. Again, the "cane-like fibres" are more the products of date-palms than of oaks. Then the grape-like sweet fruits, eaten even by kings, refer more to the date from date-palms than to the fruits of oak trees. It is true that oaks do give some edible fruits but they are eaten by the poor. Mr. C. P. Johnson in his article on oak[1] says of the fruit: "The acorns of the oak possess a considerable economic importance as food for swine....In times of dearth acorns were boiled and eaten by the poor as a substitute for bread....Large herds of swine in all the great oak woods of Germany depend for their autumn maintenance on acorns." These acorn fruits cannot be "the grape-like sweet fruits eaten by kings" as referrd to in our Pahlavi book. The description applies to the date-fruit, the best quality of which, even now, adorns the dining tables of kings. I will not enter here into all the uses of the tree referred to in our paper, but simply say that all these uses suit more the date-palm than the oak. In some cases the products of the oak tree cannot at all be adopted for the uses.

Another reading of the Pahlavi word read as "asurik."

I beg to submit that the Pahlavi word read "Asurik" by all the above learned scholars may be read as Khajûrîk. The first letter can be read as 'kh'. there is some difficulty about the second letter in which I think there is one extra stroke; we have for . Otherwise the word can easily be read as *khajurik* which means a date-palm. But then one may say that we have not in Avesta, Pahlavi and persian the word *khajurik* for the date tree. But, the word seems to be an old Aryan word, since

gold-coloured buenches (*vid* P.). Then this happens that poor men who have no wine or bread eat my fruits (P.) which hang in companionship (*i.e.*, in bunches P.). This passage is a clear reference to the gold-colured bunches of dates which hang form a date tree. The dates form staple food of many people.

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVII, 9th Ed., p. 692.

we have in Sanskrit a word खर्जुर Kharjur, which according to Apte,[1] means a date-tree.[2] The word خرذرو may be, if the second letter is written with a flourish or a higher stroke as خورذرو *kharjûrîk*. The fruit itself, of which we speak as khajur ખજુર is also spoken of in Sanskrit as *kharjur*.

III.

Which is the city spoken of as Shatro-i-Khajurik.

Then, if we take the reading to the Kharjur, which is the city spoken of as the city of the Date-Palm? I think, it is the city of Palmyra which was so named by the Greeks and Romans. It is a small hamlet now, but at one time, it was a renowned city.[3] It was situated in an oasis of the great Syrian desert. It is the Tadmor[4] of the old Testament of the Hebrews. The name means the city of Palm-trees The Greek name Palmyra is a translation of the old Hebrew name. Thus, we see that Palmyra would be a proper rèndering of our city of Khajuri or the City of date-palms. Just as khajuri (date-palm) is a sacred tree among the Parsees, so it was a sacred tree among the Hebrews and the early Christians. The latter have still a Holiday, known as the palm-Sunday, when branches of palms are placed over the altar.

Then the following description of the date-palm[5] summarises a few facts of what we read in our Pahlavi treatise: "Not only are dates a staple diet in Arabia....but the plaited leaves furnish mats and baskets, the bark is made into ropes and the seeds are ground up for cattle. From the dates is made a kind of Syrup date-honey or *dibs*, a valuable substitute for sugar."

IV.

Thne the next question is, wether under the word goat bûz بز there is any particular species meant or the whole class of

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1 Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 443.

2 The Unâdi aûtra IV, 90. *Vide* "Ujjvaladdatta's Commentary on the Unâdisûtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the east India House by Theodor Aufrecht (1859) p. 109. We find form this that khajuri is a feminine from (स्त्रियां खर्जुरी)

3 Smith's Classical Dictionary.

4 *Cf.* Our Indian word *tad* તાડ for a species of the Palm-tree.

5 Rev. Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, *vide* Palm-tree.

goats? The following statement of the goat perplexes us a little. It says:

"Lakhvâr val pusht yakhsunam kufan val kuf vazlunet rabâ keshvar bûm min kost-i Hindukân lavin ân Varkash-i-zareh javait sardeh mardûm mûn katrûnd lavin ân bûn."

Translation.—Again, I carry (men) on my back from mountain to mountain. There go (over my back) to great countries from the frontiers (of the country) of the Hindus to the frontiers of the sea Varkash, different kinds of men who live on the frontiers of that country.

Now this statement about the carrying of men over their backs from mountain to mountain form the forntiers of India to the shores of the Vouru-kash, the Caspian, seems puzzling in the case of ordinary goats. So, I think this is an allusion to that particular kind of goats which are known in the higher mountains of the Himalayas as the *yâks*. We read the following of the *yâk*:—"It occurs both wild and as the ordinary domestic animal of the inhabitants of that region, supplying milk, food and rament, as well as being used as a beast of burden."[1]

[1] Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., Vol. 24, p. 725.

A NOTE ON "AN OLD MANUSCRIPT OF THE DIVAN-I-HAFIZ," RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE LIBRARY OF THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

This manuscript bears No. 176 in the catalogue of the books and manuscripts of the Instiute, completed by Mr. Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, M.A., and published in 1923. Mr. Dhabhar describes it as follows on page 173 of the catalogue:—" 176 Divan-i-Hafiz 7·6″ × 4·9″. Half bound; country made paper; ff. 179 written in 15 ll. to the page; somewhat worm-eaten. This MS.was written in A.H. 964. It was originally presented by Mr. Charles K. Elphinstone to Mr. Cursetji Jamsetjee (afterwards Sir Jamshedji II)."

The date of completion, given at the end of the volume, is the 29th of Muharrm, 964 Hijri, corresponding to 2nd December 1556 A.D.. The statement in Persian regarding the presentation of it, by Mr. Elphinstone, to Mr. Kurshedji (afterwards Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai, the second Baronet), is on a fly-leaf at the beginning. It appeears to have passed from Mr. Khurshedji to his younger brother, Mr. Sorabji Jamshedji, a well known Persian scholar. As to how it subsequently came to be presented to the Institute, will be seen from the following note at page VII of the preface of Mr. Dhabhar's catalogue:—

"These manuscripts and a large number of printed books were presented by Sheth Sorabji's widow, Bai Bachubai to the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotan B. Sanjana, Principal of the Sir J. J. Madressa, about 30 years ago. His son and suecessor in the Principal-ship, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darabji sent them, in 1914, to the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat as very little use was made of them at the Madressa. The Trustees have presented them to this Institute, so that a much larger circle of students may have the benefit of them."

The folios of the manuscript have been numbered in Persian, presumably by the original copyist, in a peculiar manner. They have not been placed at the tops of pages a usual, but at the tops of the Gazals, which begin on the first page of each folio, so that they appear sometimes in the middle of a page. Some one has numbered the folios in pencil in English at the top, not from the right to the left, as usual, but from the left to the right, so that the book ends on the folio marked 1 in English, but 180 in Persian.

The following list of old manuscripts of Hafiz, with their dates, compiled by me from the information kindly furnished by the authorities of various libraries, and from other sources, may be of use to scholars:—

	Library.	A. H. date.	A.C. date.
1.	Bodlein	843	1439
2.	British Museum	855	1451
3.	Royal Asiatic Society	872	1467-68
4.	Bankipore	9th century	
5.	British Museum	921	1515
6.	*Cama Oriental Institute*	964	1556
7.	Bankipore	971	1563
8.	Imperial Library (Calcutta) ..		16th century
9.	Bengal Asiatic Society	1013	1604
11.	Mulla Feroze Library (Bombay) No. 261	1035	1625
11.	German Oriental Society ..	1098	1686
12.	Imperial Library (Calcutta) ..	1137	1724
13.	Mulla Feroze Library (Dr. Byramji Pestanji's presentation No. 27)	1158	1745
14.	Mulla Feroze Library, No. 251	1181	1767
15.	Mulla Feroze Library, No. 250	1197	1782
16.	Bānkipore Library, other six MSS.	11th and 12th centuries.	

Major H.S Jarrett in the Preface of his edition of the Divan-i-Hafiz, published at Calcutta, in 1881, refers to an old manuscript which he had collated with Hermann Brockhau's text (A.C. 1854) which itself was based on Sudi's rescension conisdered to be the most authentic." It is dated A.H. 978 (1570 A.C.)[1] He does not say where that old manuscript is at present. So I have not included it in the above list.

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1 Lt.-Col. H. Wilberforce Clark, in the preface of his translation of the Divan-i-Hafiz. (1891 A.C., V), gives the corresponding Christian year as 1593. That seems to be a mistake.

A FEW NOTES ON ANQUETIL DU PERRON'S OWN COPY OF HIS "ZEND AVESTA, L'OUVRAGE DE ZOROASTRE," RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN COLOMBO.

I

Introduction.

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute has been recently presented with an unique copy of the three volumes of Anquetil Du Perron's "Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre." The value of these volumes lies in this, that (*a*) they are the copy of the author's own library, that (*b*) they are embellished with the author's own notes in his own hand writing and that (*c*) they contain, attached to their fly-leaves, some original letters, received by him from contemporary scholars and others, on subjects referred to in his work and on other collateral oriental subjects.

Mr. Kaikhosru Dadabhoy Chowksy of Colombo wrote to me, on 2nd December 1923, saying, that a gentleman there, who, he subsequently wrote, was a well-known solicitor in Colombo, had a copy of three volumes of Anquetil, which *seemed* to be those of the author himself (ગ્રંથકર્તાની પોતાની કોપીઓ લાગે છે). He further asked my advice as to what should be the price of these and as to which Institution they can be presented, when obtained. When Mr. Chowksy said that the volumes *seemed* to belong to the author, I thought to myself, that the copies of the author himself could not have come from distant Paris to Colombo, because, most of Anquetil's literary possessions were presented to the well-known Bibliothèque du Roi, now known as the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. However, I wrote in reply on 11th December 1923, saying that the volumes may be presented to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. The volumes were then carefully brought to me, by our mutual friend Mr. P. Muncherjee of Bombay, with one letter, dated 7th January 1924 from Mr. Chowksy, and another, dated 24th December 1923 from the owner of the volumes, Mr. Leslie de

Saram of the well-known firm of Messrs. F. J. and G. de Saram, proctors of Colombo. Mr. Leslie de Saram also said in his letter that " Anquetil Du Perron's works *appear* to be the Author's copies." He kindly wrote in his letter that he presented the Volumes to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. On looking to the Volumes, I was delighted to find, that what had " seemed" to Mr. Chowksy and what had " appeared to be " to Mr. Leslie de Saram, was a fact and that the volumes were Anquetil's own Library copies, which he had embellished with his further notes here and there. I was further pleased to find that Anquetil had attached, here and there, to the fly-leaves, &c., some original communications from known literary personages of his time. The very first letter struck me as an important document.

I had the pleasure of reading before this Society two papers on Anquetil,—one on 16th December 1915, entitled " Anquetil Du Perron of Paris. India as seen by him (1755-60)" and another on 7th February 1916, entitled "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat."[1] In the first [2] of these two papers, I have briefly referred to a subject which had annoyed Anquetil on his return home and which had led him to ask for a certificate from the Librarian of the Bibliothèque du Roi. I found, that the very first communication attached to the first fly-leaf of the first volume sent to me was the original certificate. I will refer to this subject later on. The perusal of this certificate and a further hasty dip into the volumes at once led me to think, that it was an unique gift that I had, by the grace of God, been fortunate to secure for my dear K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Leslie de Saram, on my own behalf for kindly accepting my suggestion, and, on behalf of the Institute, for kindly presenting to it these valuable volumes—valuable not only for its contents of Notes, some original letters, plans, &c., but also for the sentimental value of being the copies of the author himself. These volumes will be, therefore, a valued possession of the Institute, valued as much as the unique old Ms. of Dante's Divine Comedy possessed by our Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Chowksy also for kindly accepting my suggestion and conveying it to the generous donor.

1 Journal Vol. XXIV, pp. 313-381 and 386-456. I have later on embodied these Papers in my book containing my contribution in Gujerati in 32 parts to the columns of the local Jâm-i-Jamshed, commencing from 10th July 1914 and ending on 3rd April 1915. The book is entitled " Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab."

2 Journal, Ibid. p. 379.

II

The object of this paper.

On finding, that I was fortunate in securing these valuable volumes, I thought of studying the documents and Notes attached to the Volumes. It is not very difficult to read the handwriting of the letters received by Anquetil, but it is very difficult to read Anquetil's hand. In some places, it requires an effort like that of deciphering an old worn out inscription. I have introduced the members of this Society to Anquetil's handwriting, in my paper read before it on 13th July, 1903, and entitled "Notes of Anquetil Du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana."[1] In that paper, I have given a photo facsimile of a leaf from one of the collections of Anquetil's manuscript notes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and you will see, on looking at the facsimile, that his handwriting is not such as could be easily read, at least by us foreigners, who are not versed in the French language and are not familiar with Ms. writing.

That being the case, I requested M. Daniel Levi, Consul of France, to kindly copy for me the letters and other papers in these volumes. It was of course "a large order," but he has kindly done some work, all along being inspired with the laudable aim of being of some use in the acquirement of some further knowledge about his great compatriot, who may be said to have been one of the first, if not the first, pioneers of Oriental learning in Europe. I beg to thank M. Levi for all the trouble he has kindly taken.

I was thinking of leisurely studying the documents and then submitting a paper before our Society, but am led to submit a paper, however incomplete, early. It seems that M. Daniel Levi had sent some information of the discovery of Anquetil's volumes, with a copy of some documents, to his learned father, Dr. Silvain Levi, one of our esteemed Honorary members. Dr. Levi communicated the news to the Société Asiatique, at its sitting of 12th June 1924. I learn from M. Daniel Levi that the discovery of the volumes, especially on account of the documents attached to them, "seems to have made quite a sensation in the Oriental world in Paris." Prof. Senart, on learning the news at the above meeting of the Société Asiatique wrote to me on the same day. Speaking of the discovery of these volumes as a "precious discovery" (la precieuse decouvert que vous avez faite), he has asked for the volumes to be sent to Paris, with a view to get all the documents photographed there. So, I propose sending shortly, with the sanction of my Committee

1 Vol. XXI, pp. 537-551.

of the Cama Institute, these volumes to Paris on loan. But, before I do so, I propose showing the volumes to the members of our Society and to submit a few Notes on some of the Letters and Notes attached to the first volume [1].

III.

History of the migration of these volumes from Paris to Bombay.

One would like to trace the history of the change of hands which the volumes underwent. This history of the migration may be divided into three parts :

(*a*) The Migration from Paris to England from 1805 to 1866.

(*b*) The Migration from England to Ceylon.

(*c*) The Migration from Ceylon to Bombay.

As to (*c*) I have spoken above as to how the volumes have come to my hands from Ceylon. As to (*b*), we have no materials to trace their coming from England, where they were upto 1852, to Ceylon. As to (*a*), we have sufficient materials supplied by the volumes themselves to see how they went from Paris to England. The Notes on the Volumes themselves help us to trace the history from 1805, the year of Anquetil's death, to 1866, upto which the volumes were in the hands of an English Scholar.

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1 After writing the above, the Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, in order to provide against a possible loss on the way to Paris, resolved that a copy of the Ms. Notes of Anquetil's volumes should be taken, before sending the volumes to Paris. As to the first volume, I have done my humble best to decipher all the notes. I have spent a number of hours and days in doing this work with the help of a powerful magnifying glass. I have given my own notes in full, and I beg to submit, in all humility, that in the matter of the elucidation of Anquetil's notes, as far as the first volume is concerned, I have left little undone. As to the other two volumes, I had entrusted the work of copying the notes to M. E. Benveneste, a promising young French scholar, who is now in our midst. He has kindly taken a copy of these notes. He, in his letter, dated Poona, 6th October 1924, says : "that diabolical hand is much more difficult to read than I supposed, and I had much trouble to get through it." If a French scholar has found the work of decipherment so difficult on account of Anquetil's "diabolical hand," I, a foreigner, crave indulgence for my faults—which must be many in the decipherment.

The Author's own copy. How it passed into the hands of Lanjuinais.

We often put down our names on our books, but Anquetil has not done so. So, in the first place, we must assure ourselves that the volumes are Anquetil's own. There are several facts to prove that. (*a*) For that purpose Anquetil's hand-writing is the principal criterion. Fortunately we have, as said above, in one of our Journals,[1] a facsimile copy of his handwriting. On comparing the handwriting of the facsimile with the handwriting of the author's Notes in this volume, we easily identify both.

(*b*) These volumes contain other handwritings also, here and there, especially in the beginning of the volumes and they are of the subsequent possessors of the Volumes. Some of these writings also show that the volumes were the author's own. We read, on the very first fly-leaf, the following :—

> "Jean Lanjuinais....J'ai acheté cet exemplaire, à la vente de M. Anquetil Du Perron ; c'est oui [2] l'exemplaire, de sa bibliothèque ; et il la enriché de ses notes."

This note shows that (*a*) the Volumes are the author's own copy and (*b*) they were purchased by Lanjuinais from the auction of M. Anquetil's property. The writer of the Note is M. Lanjuinais, the purchaser himself, and so, he wrote in the first person.

(*c*) Then, there is a very small slip of paper about 3 inches in length and ¾ths in breadth, attached, on the top on the right hand side, to the original Certificate of the Librarians of the Bibliothèque du Roi, above referred to, which is attached to the 3rd fly leaf of the first volume. We read thereon, in a handwriting which seems to be the same as that of the preceding note of Lanjuinais, the following :—

> "Acheté 48 f. à la vente de l'auteur en 1805."

This note also shows, (*a*) that the volumes belonged to Anquetil, (*b*) and that they were purchased in auction in 1805, the very year in which Anquetil died, for 48 francs.[3]

(*d*) Lastly, we read on the title-page of the first volume, the following note, which, I think, is in the hand of the subsequent purchaser Dr. Lee : "Exemplaire de l'auteur et annoté par lui,

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1 Vol. XXI, pp. 537-551.

2 I am a little doubtful about this reading. The word seems to be *oui*, *i.e.*, indeed, or it may be "*c'etait*," *i.e.*, "it was."

3 According to the exchange of the pre-war times, the cost would come to about Rs. 24

achetéasa vente par M. Lanjuinais qui l'a aussi annoté et rempli de ses notes."

This Note then means to say that these volumes (*a*) belonged to Anquetil, (*b*) were annotated by him, (*c*) were purchased by M. Lanjuinais at Anquetil's auction, and (*d*) were also annotated by Lanjuinais.

As to the last observation, as far as the first volume is concerned, there seem to be no annotations by Lanjuinais. There are one or two by Dr. J. Lee, to whom I refer later on.

(*e*) A further Note on the second page of the first fly-leaf of the first volume which is an extract from an advertisement in the oriental catalogue of a firm of Book-sellers, Messrs. Howell and Stewart, also shows, that the volumes (*a*) were Anquetil's copy, (*b*) were sold by auction, (*c*) purchased therein by Lanjuinais (*d*) annotated by him, and (*e*) were again to be sold by the Booksellers. This note, written in a fair hand, seems to have been entered here by the third possessor, Dr. Lee, of whom we will speak a little later on.

Lanjuinais.

Now, as to who this M. Lanjuinais who purchased the volumes from the auction of Anquetil's property on his death, was, I think, that he was Jean Lanjuinais, who was born at Rennes in 1753 and died in Paris in 1827. He was a member of the Institute. He was the author of several books on the languages and religions of Asia. He had published in 1821 " Mémoire sur la religion", in 1823 " La Religion des Indous selon les Vedas." He was the author of a number of other books on a variety of subjects. Most of his publications in various quarters were collected and published in 1832, in four volumes, by his son Victor Ambroise Lanjuinais.[1]

Why these volumes did not pass into the Bibliothèque du Roi.

Before, proceeding further, let us consider, why these volumes passed into the hands of the auctioneer, and not into the Bibliothèque du Roi, where all of Anquetil's Mss. had passed. We learn from Mon. E. Blochet's " Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (Zends, Pehlvis, Parsis et Persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale" (p. 1), published in 1900, that the Mss. of most of Anquetil's hand notes had gone into the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Some of his manuscripts were deposited in the Library by Anquetil on 15th March 1762. He himself thus

[1] Grand Dictionnaire Univérsale du XIXe siécle par Pierre Larouse 1873, 10th Vol. p. 164.

speaks of this event : " Le lendemain, 15 Mars, je déposai à la Bibliothèque du Roi les Ouvrages de Zoroastre et les autres Manuscrits que j'avois destinés pour ce précieux Trésor."[1]

Then some of his other manuscripts were, later on, deposited in the National Library on 2nd May 1805[2] *i.e.* three months and a half after his death, which occurred on 17th January 1805. So, the question naturally arises, why, though all his manuscripts and papers were deposited in the National Library after his death, this rare copy of his own, in which he had made some marginal and other notes and in which he had attached some appreciative letters referring to his work received by him, did not pass into the possession of the library but went into sale with some of his other possessions. I think, that the reason may be this : When somebody examined after his death all his property and selected the Mss. to be handed over to the Bibliothèque Nationale, he did not notice the precious documents and notes in the volumes themselves. Looking from without, he may have found, that the volumes were, merely, a copy like many other copies of the work. He may not have examined the volumes from within, and so he did not think them worth possessing for the Bibliothèque.

Why Anquetil's property all went to auction earlier.

It appears from what is said above, on the authority of M. Blochet's catalogue, that Anquetil's valuable Mss. &c. which were with him passed on into the Bibliothèque du Roi, on 2nd May, within about 3½ months after his death. The auction sale of the other property must have taken place soon after. One can understand well, why Anquetil's things were sold off during the very year of his death. We learn, from what is said of him in the Dictionary of M. Larouse, that in his old age, Anquetil had grown very eccentric. One can see from the account which I have given of his travels in India, that he was a little eccentric from his very young age. That eccentricity may have grown with age, and Larouse says, that, though reduced to much poverty in old age, he refused the help offered to him by the French Government and by some learned Societies of France, and he moved about in such a miserable condition, that passers-by took him for a beggar.

This being the case, it is possible that some of the ordinary retail trade business men whose debts he may have incurred

[1] Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. ccccl*xxvii.

[2] Blochet's Catalogue p. 2.

for pretty little things of food &c. may have forced his property to be sold off by auction. I think, that the price, 48 francs, is too poor for his three volumes, irrespective of the question of their belonging to the author himself. That the original cost price must be very high appears from what we will see later on, that two scholars had borrowed these volumes from a subsequent purchaser. This was the case perhaps, because they could not afford to buy them at a high price.

From the hands of Lanjuinais to those of Dr. Lee.

From two notes, one on the first fly-leaf, and another at the top of the first page of the second volume, we find that in 1828, *i.e.*, twenty-three years afterward, the volumes were again put out for sale by Book-sellers, Howell and Stewart, most probably at the instruction of Lanjuinais. We read the following note on the first fly leaf, which is a copy of the title-page of Anquetil's printed work :

"4299. Zend-Avesta, ouvrage de Zoroastre contenant les Idées Théologiques, Physiques, et Morales de ce Legislateur, les Cérémonies du Culte Religieuse qu'il a établi, et plusieurs Traits importants relatifs á l'Ancienne Histoire des Perses, traduit[1] sur l'original Zend avec des Remarques, et accompagné de plusieurs Traités[2] à éclaircir les matières qui en sont l'object, par[3] Anquetil Du Perron.[4] 3 Vols.

"The author's own copy, plates, very neat. £7-17-6. Lond. 1771.[5]

" Exemplaire de l'auteur, et annotée par lui, acheté à sa vente par M. Languinais,[6] qui la a aussi annoté et rempli des ses notes."

" Ms. Note. It contains two additional maps in the Ms. by the author, besides his alterations &c., and also many letters addressed to him on the subject of the work, from eminent orientalists, with his remarks on them.

" Supplement to Howell and Stewart's Oriental Catalogue." It seems that either the book-sellers may have put this note

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1 Two words "en François" which we find on the title-page have been omitted here by mistake.

2 The word " propres ", as given in Anquetil's title page, is omitted.

3 The word " M." is omitted.

4 Then follow the words of the Book-sellers.

5 The year 1771 is the year, given on the title page, as the year of the original publication. The word Lond. (for London), preceding the year, is either a mistake for Paris, or was intentionally though wrongly put by the Book-sellers to draw attention to their place of business.

6 We find here the fourth letter of the name as 'g' in place of 'J.'

on the book, copying it from their catalogue to identify it with what was stated in their catalogue or the next purchaser may have written it to note the importance of the work. The latter seems to me to be the case. The price mentioned £7-17-6 draws our attention and confirms my above stated inference, that the sale of Anquetil's property, where the volumes fetched only 24 francs was a hasty one.

The second short note on the first page of the second leaf runs: "Messrs. Howell and Stewart. December 24, 1828." This note seems to have been written by the next purchaser to say, that he bought these volumes from the book-sellers, named therein, on 24th December 1828. We saw above, that M. Lanjuinais died in 1827. So, it seems that, on his death, the volumes were placed by his heirs at the above book-sellers to be sold by them, and so they advertised the sale in their catalogue. The number 4299 seems to be the running number of this catalogue.

It seems that these volumes then passed from Lanjuinais through the above book-sellers, to the hands of Dr. Lee. There is a note on the top of the second page of the second fly-leaf which runs thus:

"Lent to Mr. Cullimore.....returned,
"also to Daniel Sharpe, Esq.....Returned 13th May 1841."

Then, there is a letter attached to the first page of the second fly leaf from the above Mr. Daniel Sharpe of "2 Adelphi Terrace[1] 13th May" to Dr. Lee. The letter is dated 13th May and the year is not given. But it appears from the previous note, wherein the return of the book is noted, that it was 1841. The letter runs as follows:—

2, ADELPHI TERRACE,
13TH MAY.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot return your Books without begging you to accept my best thanks for the kind loan of them. They have been of the greatest use to me which has been the cause of my keeping them so very long.

Yours very truly,
DANIEL SHARPE.

DR. LEE, LONDON[2]

1 Adelphi Terrace, is a part of London near the Strand, which was first turned into a terrace in or about 1768, by the architect brothers, John and Robert Adam (Cunningham's Handbook of London (1849) (Vol. I. p. 3.)

2 The word here may be read "London" but the reading is uncertain. The name is followed by a letter which looks like E.

Though the above letter has nothing to do directly with Anquetil Du Perron, it shows, that Anquetil's work began to be appreciated also by scholars other than Iranian, and, as the writer says, it was found to be "of great use." We will examine here, who the above three personages were.

1. Dr. Lee.

There were several personages of the name of Dr. Lee at the time of which we find Ms. notes in Anquetil's volumes. (*a*) In the first volume, we find the name on the back of the right hand cover as " J. Lee Doctors Commons 1828." (*b*) On the second page of the first fly-leaf of the second volume, we read : " J. Lee Hartwell." (*c*) On the second page of the first fly-leaf of the third volume, we read : " J. Lee Hartwell." Taking into consideration these names in the volumes, I think, that this Dr. Lee is Dr. John Lee, who lived from 1783 to 1866.[1] He was a collector of antiquities. He took his Doctorate (L. L. D.) at Cambridge in 1816. His original name was Fiott, as he was the eldest son of John Fiott. But he took the name of Lee under the will of his maternal uncle, William Lee. He travelled in the East as one of the travelling bachelors of his University from 1807 to 1810. He had acquired various oriental manuscripts in Turkey. On his return, he resumed his study of Law and in 1815 was admitted as a member of the college of Advocates. He practised in Ecclesiastical Courts, and hence it is, that we find him adding after his name " Doctors Commons." [2] In 1830 he built an observatory in his Hartwell House. This reference explains the name " Hartwell " which we find in the Notes in Anquetil's volumes after his name, as his place of residence. He had joined the Royal Astronomical Society and was appointed its President in 1862. To this Society, he gave the advowson (*i.e.*, the right of presenting or nominating to a vacant benefice or living in the Church) of Hartwell. He died on 25th February 1866, leaving no issue. So, his property " passed to his brother Rev. Nicholas Fiott who assumed the surname of Lee."

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[1] Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Sydney Lee (1892) Vol. XXXII p. 362.

[2] " Doctors' Commons " was " a Society of Ecclesiastical lawyers in London, forming a distinct profession for the practice of the civil and canon laws." In 1768, the society obtained a royal charter and took the title of " The College of Doctors of Law." Those who had taken the Degree of Doctors of Law at Oxford or Cambridge were then admitted as advocates by the Archbishop of Canterbury and admitted in this College. The College has been now dissolved, the Ecclesiastical Courts having been thrown open to the whole Bar (Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Ed. Vol. 7 p. 319.)

The above said Hartwell house was in Buckinghamshire and it had a large library of books on Law and Theology.

Thus the mention of "Hartwell" and "Doctors Commons" shows, that out of several Dr. Lees, it was this Dr. John Lee who had possessed these volumes.

Now, as this Dr. John Lee died in 1866, it seems probable that the volumes may have remained with him in England upto 1866. He had left no issue; so, his property had passed to his brother Rev. Nicholas Hiott, who assumed the surname of Lee.

2. Cullimore.

The Cullimore referred to in the volumes seems to be Isaac Cullimore, an Irishman, who was born in 1791 and died in 1852. He was one of the Orientalists of the first rank of his time. Egyptology was his special line of study. He made use of astronomy in fixing dates of important events in Ancient History. From 1842, he had begun issuing plates of cylinders and seals from the collection of Sir William Ousley and Dr. Lee.[1] This fact explains, why Cullimore had come into contact with Dr. Lee and why he had borrowed Anquetil's volumes from Dr. Lee.

Mr. Cullimore's name is referred to again three times in these volumes. We find it in the beginning of each volume. For example, a Note, most probably in the hand of Dr. Lee, refers to him on the top of the first page of the second leaf. It reads. "Papers marked by Mr. Cullimore with papers. XVIII. 18 Errata

Discours Préliminaire.	CCCXVIII.	318
	CCCCLXXX.	480
	CCCCLXXXIV.	484

It seems, that Mr. Cullimore may have, in his study of the volumes, noticed what seemed to be some important matter on particular pages, which, he, in order to draw the attention of Dr. Lee, marked with pieces of paper. Lest the slips of papers may be lost, Dr. Lee seems to have put down in the form of a Note, the numbers of the marked pages. We find similar notes on the 2nd fly-leaves of the second and third Volumes. The numbers of pages seem to have been originally marked by Dr. Lee in Arabic numbers. Latterly, he or somebody else, has given the pages in Roman numbers. The reason seems to be, that

1 Dictionary of National Biography by Leslie Stephen (1888) Vol. XIII p. 282.

Anquetil has marked all the pages of his first volume entitled " Discours Préliminaire " in Roman numbers. The first Volume was, as it were, an Introduction, and Introductions generally bear such Roman numbers. Being an Introduction, it was published after the second volume, as said by Anquetil in the commencement of his Errata (p. XVIII of the 1st set of pages). Now, the fact of the pages being marked both, in Roman figures and Arabic figures, seems to have led somebody to make a remark written crosswise, on the right hand margin of the first page of the second leaf of the 1st volume questioning the propriety of doing so. The writer says: " Qu.[1] What does this mean ? The author never observed the difference between Roman and Arabic numerals." The writer of the observations has put his initial ' R ' under the observation. This initial ' R ' may turn out to be of some use in tracing the migration of the Volumes to Ceylon.

Now, as to why Cullimore drew the attention of Dr. Lee to the particular pages of Anquetil's first volume, we are not in a position to speak positively. Perhaps, he had given his reason in an accompanying letter which Dr. Lee did not attach here. However, I beg to suggest the reasons for the references in the first Volume, why Cullimore may have drawn the particular attention of Dr. Lee to the above pages.

P. XVIII Errata. Here, Anquetil says, that he at first thought, of writing a Discourse about 60 to 80 pages, and that he proposed publishing only one Volume. The Discourse grew to more than 500 pages and the Errata itself occupied 19 closely printed pages. This was extraordinary and was perhaps thought worth drawing attention to.

P. CCCXVIII Discourse. Here Anquetil states how different Mss. of the Vendidad differed and agreed, and he refers to a promise which Dastur Darab had made of producing a Ms. similar to that possessed by Muncherjee, the broker of the Dutch factory at Surat. So, perhaps Cullimore wanted to draw the attention of Dr. Lee, to this fact of the Mss. of the Vendidad differing a good deal. Perhaps, this has some bearing on the question of doubts thrown on the authenticity of the Zend-Avesta books, as discovered by Anquetil. We know that William (afterward Sir William) Jones had, in his vehement letter to Anquetil shown this doubt and had thought that the Zend Avesta books were a fabrication of the Indian Dasturs.

1 Question.

P. CCCCLXXX. Here, the statement drawing particular attention is that about priests reciting the whole Zend Avesta by heart, without understanding the meaning.

P. CCCCLXXXIV. Here, Anquetil explains the plan of his work, and says that he wants to present himself only as a translator, and, the most, as a historian, without passing judgments. This plan he says, may not be approved by others. Cullimore perhaps wanted to draw Dr. Lee's attention to this statement.

3 Daniel Sharpe.

Daniel Sharpe seems to be the geologist, Daniel Sharpe, who was born in 1806 and died in 1856. Though a great student of geology, he was also a student of philology and archaeology and worked in the line of the decipherment of inscriptions. Anquetil has given a number of inscriptions in his work, *e.g.*, three plates of Inscriptions of writing passed by the King of Malabar in favour of the Jews.[1]

Irrespective of his philological and archaeological studies, perhaps he may have tried to look into Anquetil's works from his geological point of view. It may appear strange, why he, a geologist should read and like Anquetil's book on the Iranians, but, like all good scientists, he perhaps wanted to know the views, however crude they may appear to us, of the ancients about the early creation. For example, the 1st and 2nd chapters of the Vendidad may have interested him from a geographical point of view. In the 18th century, India was known to European Scholars, more from the books of travellers. Now, Anquetil not only describes his long tour in India, but always gives references to other writers. For example, in the second Volume (Tome I partie 1 p. 270 n.1), Anquetil gives a list of some of the writers on India. Among them one writes on the climates of India, a subject which should interest a geologist. Again, Anquetil himself speaks on various subjects referring to India. So his volumes contained, here and there, some subjects which might interest geologists.

Probable Conclusion, as to the Migration of the volumes.

The above note of the Booksellers dated 24th December 1828, the above letter to Dr. Lee dated 13th May 1841 and the above few particulars about Dr. Lee, lead us to say, that Anquetil's Volumes left France in 1828 and went into the hands of Howell and Stewart, Booksellers of England, who

1 "Inscription en ancien Tamoul, renferment les Privilèges accordés aux Juifs, il y a environ mille ans par Scharan Peroumal, Empereur de la Côte Malabae." (Plate 1 after p. CLXX, Tome I, Zend Avesta).

advertised for sale, as said above, in their " Oriental Catalogue." Dr. Lee may have purchased them from these booksellers in some year after 1828, when he prosecuted his studies on Oriental subjects. Dr. Lee died in 1866 and it seems probable that the volumes must have remained with him upto the year of his death. We saw above that they were with him upto May 1841 when they were returned to him by Daniel Sharpe. A great scholar as he was, he could not have parted with the volumes in his life time. So, the volumes must have remained with him in England upto 1866. Then they must have gone into the hands of his brother Rev. Nicholas Fiott, who on Dr. Lee's death assumed the name of Lee.

Now, there remains the question of the migration of the volumes from England (Buckinghamshire) to Colombo in Ceylon. On inquiry from Mr. Leslie de Saram through Mr. Chowksey, I am told by Mr. Chowksey that the owner does not well remember how the volumes came to his hands. I have heard nothing further. I have written to Mr. De Saram again last week.

(APPENDIX S. III.)

After writing the above, I heard further from Mr. Leslie De Saram. In his letter dated Colombo 19th April 1924, he said " I cannot say with any certainty. I have been collecting books sine I was a boy.....I have frequently bought parcels of books at auction sales for the sake of one or two of the volumes contained therein. The volumes I gave your Institute must have come to me in that way, or they may have been originally in the library of a great uncle of mine, Charles Ambrose Lorenz, who was a scholar and a book-lover. In any case I have very little idea of how the volumes came into my possession. So, it seems, no useful purpose would be served by speculation on the point. However, it is a source of gratification to me that the volumes should have found a suitable home and that they have interested and been appreciated by you."

Then I had the pleasure of going to Ceylon from Madras, where I had gone during the Christmas Holidays of 1924, to attend there, as a delegate of this and two other Societies, the third Oriental Conference. When at Colombo, I had the pleasure of having a long interview with Mr. Leslie de Saram on 5th January 1925 and was much benefited by the talk. In this long conversation, Mr. De Saram mentioned the name of two Lee's (father and son) as having been in Colombo for some time. Mr. de Saram knew nothing of my having traced the

transfer of the volumes from Anquetil's house to Dr. Lee of Buckinghamshire. So this sudden casual mention by him of the Lee's at Colombo pleased me very much as supplying a further clue for tracing the migration of Anquetil's volumes from England to Ceylon. I give below the result of my above very interesting and instructive conversation with Mr. De Saram and of some subsequent further study of the question of the transfer of the volumes to Colombo.

There was in Ceylon one George Lee as Post-master General. He was the translator of a French book. Mr. De Saram kindly gave me the book for perusal and I found its title-page as follows :

"*The History of Ceylon.*"

Presented by Captain John Rebeyro to the King of Portugal in 1685.

Translated from the Portuguese, by the Abbe Le Grand.

Re-translated from the French Edition with an Appendix containing Chapters illustrative of the Past and Present condition of the Island by George Lee,

Post-master General of Ceylon.

Fellow of the Universal Statistical Society of France, &c., &c.

Ceylon.

Published at the Government Press, Colombo, 1847."

A few particulars of this George Lee, as given in "Ceylon, by Plate Ld." (p. 84) are as follows : [1]

"George Lee. Date of Appointment, 30th November 1844. Date, when left Ceylon, 1st September 1859."

Now, the question is who was this George Lee ? Was he any way connected with Dr. John Lee, in whose hand Anquetil's volumes had passed and who died in 1866. Or was he any way related to the brother of the above Dr. John Lee, Rev. Nicholas (Fiott) Lee to whom all the property—and, in that, possibly the three volumes of Anquetil—of Dr. John Lee passed. We find nothing further than what we find from the above title page, *viz.*, that he was in Colombo in 1847.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Chowksey for kindly showing me the book and giving me particulars about him and his son.

Again this George Lee had a son named Frederick Lee who was in the Civil Service of Ceylon. The Civil List of Ceylon gives the following particulars about him :

" Date of Appointment, 10th June 1864.

Died 4th December 1899."

We do not find any further particulars about these two Lees. We are not, in any way, sure that they were in any way related, and, if related, how, to the above Dr. John Lee or to his brother, Rev. Nicholas Fiott. But, as far as nothing to the contrary is known, we may take it that these two Lees, father and son, were, probably in some way, related to the above Dr. John Lee or his brother, Rev. Nicholas Lee. We can then account for the migration of the volumes from Dr. John Lee's Hartwell House in Buckinghamshire to Colombo.

Again the fact that George Lee knew well French, so as to translate a book from French into English, shows the likelihood of there being some connection between the brother Lees of Buckinghamshire and Lee's father and son of Ceylon.

Then arises the question, how the volumes passed into the hands of Mr. Leslie De Saram from the Lee family of Colombo. For the consideration of this question, a few facts about the history of the family, kindly communicated to me by Mr. de Saram during my interview, are interesting :

Charles Ambrose Lorenz of Ceylon, mentioned by Mr. Leslie De Saram in his above mentioned letter to me dated 19th August 1924, was the son of a Prussian officer in the Dutch India Company's service. He was of French abstraction. Both he and his wife, Mrs. Lorenz, knew French very well. He was the paternal uncle of the mother of Mr. De Saram. The lady was taken to be an accomplished French scholar. These Lorenzes were very friendly with the above Lees of Colombo. In the Ceylon Celebrities (p. 50), it is said of this Charles Ambrose Lorenz that he lived from 1829 to 1870.

According to Mr. De Saram, it is likely that the book passed into the hands of his mother's uncle, Charles Ambrose Lorenz (1829-1870), from the hands of the elder Lee who was in Ceylon from 1844 to 1859.

But there is another probability. Dr. John Lee lived upto 1866, and as it seems probable, that a good scholar as he was,

he may have kept the volumes with him upto his death, it is probable, that they passed into the hands of his brother, and it is from this brother that they may have passed into the hands of the junior Lee, and then they passed from his hands, when he died in 1899, to the hands of Leslie De Saram, either by presentation, as the families were in close friendly relations, or by purchase in an auction, as he was, as said in his above letter, fond of collecting books from a boyish age.

Anyhow, my visit to Ceylon and my conversation with Mr. Leslie De Saram, wherein he casually mentioned the name of the Lee's have helped me to be in a position to say that the volumes probably passed from the Lee's of Buckinghamshire to the Lee's of Colombo and that they passed into the hands of the family of M. De Saram or of Mr. de Saram himself, either by presentation, the two families being friendly, or by purchase from an auction sale of Mr. Lee, the son.)

IV

Certificate and Notes in the first volume.

After examining the notes in the first volume, made by hands other than Anquetil's which trace the history of the migration of the volumes from Paris to Colombo, we will now examine the first volume in the following order.

1. The important letter attached to the first fly-leaf of the first volume.

2. Anquetil's MS. notes on slips of paper attached to various papers, and of the pages of the volumes.

3. The marginal notes of the volume.

The Certificate of the Librarians.

We will first examine a document on which a slip of paper containing six notes is gummed. It is a very important document. It is an original certificate of the two librarians of the Bibliothèque du Roi, by which name the Bibliothèque Nationale was then known. We will see, what this certificate is for, and why Anquetil has attached so much importance to it, and why he has preserved it, gumming it on a fly-leaf of his very first volume.

Unfortunately for Anquetil, he had as it were enemies, or, more properly speaking, hostile critics at home as well as abroad. As to hostile critics abroad, they arose after the appearance of his work on the Zend-Avesta in 1771. The first and the most powerful among these was William Jones, a young Oxonian then, afterwards Sir William Jones, the founder of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Fired by what seemed to him to be rather a disrespectful way in which Anquetil wrote about some Oxford Scholars, he took up cudgels on their behalf. I need not dwell long on the subject, as I have referred to it in my paper on Anquetil before this Society, but simply say, that no doubt, Anquetil was generally a little rough in his manners.

Now, leaving aside the question of his later critics abroad, we find that he had hostile critics, at home, raised also perhaps by his rough way of asserting himself. I say, perhaps, because we have no materials before us to say anything emphatically. Perhaps, the cause may be some pretty jealousies, which we see among some scholars. Whatever the reason may be, doubts were thrown upon Anquetil's assertion, that he was the first Frenchman to produce, and bring to notice, the Zend Avesta in Paris. I will first give here the above certificates and then state the whole case :

"Je soussigné, Garde des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, certifie que les seuls ouvrages connus sous le nom de Zoroastre, que possede maintenant la Bibliothèque du Roi, sont les Livres Zends et Pehlvis, qui y ont été déposés par *M. Anquetil Du Perron*[1] le 15 Mars 1762 ; et que je n'ai point oui dire qu'on y en ait jamais vu d' autres, ni que M. Otter eut commencé la traduction d'aucun Manuscrit de ce genre. A Paris le 26 Avril 1770.

Bejot

J'atteste la même chose ; à la Binliothèque du Roi, le[2] 26 Avril 1770.

Capperonnier.[3]

Translation.—I the undersigned, the keeper of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, certify that the only works,

1 These underlined words are written in the margin with the usual ʌ both there and in the body of the letter, to show that they were omitted at first. They are written by the same hand.

2 Anquetil who has given the certificate in his Zend Avesta (Vol. I p. 501) has given the word as 'ce'. It may be so read here also.

3 Anquetil spells the name with three 'n 's (Ibid).

known under the name of Zoroaster, which the King's Library possesses at present, are the Zend and Pehlvi books, which have been deposited there by M. Anquetil du Perron (on) the 15th March 1762; and that I have neither heard it said, that anybody has ever seen others, nor that M. Otter had commenced the translation of any manuscript of this kind. At Paris the 26th April 1770.

Bejot.

I certify the same thing; at the Library of the King,

26th April 1770. *Capperonnier.*

Both the signatories were known scholars of the time and I will speak of them here.

Bejot.

François Bejot was born at Montdidier in 1718 and died at Paris in 1787. He was at first Professor of Greek in the Bibliothèque du Roi and he had prepared the catalogue of this Library. He was a member of the Académie des Inscriptions. He was, latterly, also appointed a Professor at the College of France.

Capperonnier.

Jean Capperonnier was born in 1716 and died in 1775. He was a Professor in the College of France. At first, he was employed on ordinary Literary work in the Bibliothèque du Roi, where he latterly became its Librarian. He was a member of the Académie des Inscriptions. He was the author of several learned works. The Capperonnier's were a learned family.

This certificate is quoted by Anquetil in his book of the Zend Avesta (Vol. I Part I pp. 500-501). So, at the bottom of this letter, we find a Note in his own hand, saying "Voy. a la fin de ce Vol. P. DI." [1] This is a reference to his first volume of Zend-Avesta, containing the Preliminary Discourse, where, while referring to the subject, he has quoted the letter in full. Anquetil seems to have attached great importance to this certificate, and, so, after quoting it in his book, he seems to have preserved it by attaching it to a fly-leaf of his own copy.

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1 i.e., see (voyez) at the end of this Volume p. 501.

Now, as to why he was led to give importance to such a certificate, duly attested by other persons, is explained by the following matter as given in the preliminary discourse of his work.

1. Zend Avesta Tome I Partie I p. CCCCXCIX.

According to Anquetil's statement, he wrote from Surat on 4th April 1759 to M. le Comte de Caylus[1] and to M. l'Abbé Barthelemy and announced that he had commenced translating the Zend Avesta books and that the translation of the first fargard (chapter) of the Vendidad was finished. His letter must have arrived in Paris at the end of the year 1759. In a letter to him, dated 10th March 1760, M. le Comte de Caylus expresses his pleasure on hearing the news, and says, that by the appearance of his book, all the hardship and troubles that he had suffered in his travels in India will be recompensed. Now, there had appeared in Paris a dictionary, entitled "Dictionnaire, Historique Portatif" (a portable Historical Dictionary), in the year 1752, from the pen of M. l'Abbe Ladvocat. In 1755, there appeared another edition of that Dictionary. In both these editions, there was no mention at all of any book of Zoroaster having come to Paris, or of having been deposited in the Royal Library or of any attempt of translating it. But in the third edition of that dictionary published in 1760 *i.e.*, in the year next after that in which Anquetil announced to his above patron friends at Paris, that he had secured the Zend Avesta books and had commenced translating them, there appeared a passage, saying that there existed in the Royal Library a folio book referring to Zoroaster, and that a savant, the late M. Otter, had commenced translating it, but finding, that it contained many fables, he had discontinued his work.

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1 He was born in Paris in 1692 and died in 1765. He was an archæologist who had travelled in the East. He had made efforts in Asia Minor to discover the ruins of Troy. He was helped in his work by Abbé Barthelemy. He was Bishop of Auxerre (the ancient Aulissiodurum) in France which had a seminary for religious learning. He had called Anquetil to this town for study in his boyhood. Anquetil refers to him, more than once, in the Preliminary Discourse of his work on Zend Avesta. He speaks of him and M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes as his patrons ('protecteurs,' Zend Avesta, T. I. P. I. p. 316). He also speaks of his having presented to him an idol, which he had taken away, or rather stolen, from the cave-temple of Jogeshri in the Salsette (Ibid. p. 390 n.). He has taken a note of this presentation on the margin (A mon retour je l'ai donné à M. C. de Caylus). He also mentions both the above personages with gratitude for his having been presented with a telescope which he regrets he could not make use of in India in a great solar eclipse of 30th December 1758. (Ibid. p. 316). It will be interesting to know where the above idol presented by Anquetil to Comte de Caylus is at present.

Now, this was an attempt to discredit the adventure of Anquetil and to deprive him of the credit of taking to France, for the first time, the work of Zoroaster and of being its first translator. Anquetil took it, that the statement which did not occur in the first two editions, was given by the author M. L'Abbé Ladvocat, who was then the Librarian of the Library of Serbonne in the third edition, after the above referred to announcement in 1759 to the above mentioned scholars in Paris, *viz.*, that he was translating the works of Zoroaster and that, that was done with a view to deprive him of his proper credit. At first, he says, he did not think it necessary to take notice of this matter, advanced without proofs, as such matters ordinarily fill up abridged dictionaries like that of the Librarian of the Serbonne. Again, he says, that it was known that the author of the dictionary was very little careful about the correctness of his statements and rarely took the trouble of resorting to original sources for his statements. But, later on, he thought that his silence was likely to be misunderstood. Again, the mis-statement was carelessly reported by other authors. A new Dictionary, published in Amsterdem (Rouen), under the name of Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique-Portatif, in 1769, had repeated the above mis-statement. Again in 1770, it was repeated, in the words of the above mentioned l'Abbé Ladvocat by the author of "de la Philosophie de la Nature" (Vol. I, p. 112 n. a). So, Anquetil thought it necessary to contradict the statement. First of all, he assured himself, that in the Royal Library there existed no book attributed to Zoroaster, as mis-stated by l'Abbé Ladvocat, and to announce the fact publicly, he got the above mentioned certificate from the two custodians of the Library. In his Zend Avesta, besides publishing the certificate, he advances three more points to prove that the statement of l'Abbé Ladvocat was wrong and says at the end [1]:—

"Ces quatre points établis d'une manière incontestable, menent à la consequence suivante ; sçavoir, que *les Livres Zends et Pehlvis, que j'ai déposés à la Bibliotheque du Roi, le* 15 *Mars* 1762, sont les *premiers*, les *seuls*, Manuscrits de ce genre, les *seuls ouvrages de Zoroastre*, qu'on y ait jamais vus ; et que je suis le *premier* en France, qui aye pensé à enrichir ma Patrie de ces Ouvrages, à les traduire, comme je suis le *premier* en Europe qui aye appris les Languages dans lesquels ils sont écrits."[2]

[1] Tome I, p. 1, p. 502.

[2] The italicized words are italicized by Anquetil.

It appears from a very badly written slip of paper, attached with some other papers, to the first page of the second fly-leaf of the 2nd Vol. (Tome I, Partie 2), that the question had not died out even after this certificate and even after the publication of Anquetil's Zend Avesta. I give below the reading and translation of Anquetil's Notes on this slip of paper.

(*a*) The first note which is very badly written reads thus, so far as it can be read:

"le 15 Fev.r. 1785.

"M. Bigot m'a dit a l'Acad. que des professeurs de l'Acad. lui avaient dit que les livres de Zor. etaient a le Bibliot. du Roi avant que je les apportasse; il ne leur a pas repondu; aussi les Messrs. des Chret. ont....été contre moi! an.

il y a Messrs. a la.....du Roi qui pas nous dire que donc."

(*b*) Another Note just below the above, over the same slip, equally badly written, says:

"Mercredi (?) 16 Fevr. 1785.

J'ai dit la chose à M. de Gingnes[1] qui m'a repondu: Lundi matin un professeur de l'Acad. de m'a dit a l'audience de M. que chez le Ministre

quelqu'un avait dit que Contes des Inscriptions de la Bibliothèque du Roi peu d'qu'il.....qu'avant que j'eusse apporté les ouvres de Zoroastre, ils etaient déjà à la Bibliothèque du Roi. M. De Gingnes lui dit.....voila M. Bigot (a l'audience) vous allez voire que cela est faux; ils à M. Bijot qui la afferme. Je que cela été dit chez le Ministre contre moi.....cerconstances on cherche a m'aneantir.

1. He was Joseph de Guignes, a great Orientalist, who knew Chinese. He was born at Pontoise in 1721 and died in 1800. He was a professor at the College of France and was the custodian of Antiquities at Louvre. His "Histoire Générale des Huns" published in 1753, is a very important book in 5 volumes for the study of the history of the Huns. He was selected a member of the Royal Society of London in 1752. In 1759 he published a Mémoire in which he tried to prove the theory that Chinese civilization had its origin in Egyptian colonization—a theory, which even after more than 150 years had not died out but is re-submitted with vigour even now. M. De Guignes was with Abbé Bathelemy, a co-examiner at the direction of the Academie of the Ms. work of Anquetil before its publication. (*Vide* for their certificate Anquetil's Zend-Avesta Vol. I. p. XXXVII, the page after the Errata).

We see from this Note, that the question had not died out, and that, now and then, doubts were raised, as to whether Anquetil was the first to carry the books of Zoroaster to France. From what Anquetil says at the end, it seems, that he felt, that some hostile critics wanted to ruin his reputation. All this explains why Anquetil attached great importance to this certificate and gummed it to his first volume.

In this connection, one may read with advantage the extracts given by Anquetil on the unnumbered page between the 36th page of the Errata and the first page of the "Discours Préliminaire" given under the heading, "Extrait des Registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres" and signed by the "Secrétaire pérpétual" and the "syndic."

V.

Manuscript Notes on the fly-leaves of the First Volume.

The very first set of Notes is that on a piece of paper, gummed on the original certificate which is referred to later on, which is attached to the first page of the third fly-leaf of the first Volume. It is marked as "Vol. I, No. 1" at the bottom by a hand other than that of Anquetil's. At the top, there is a passage in Latin which runs thus:[1]

The Note referring to Palmyra Inscriptions.

De inscriptionibus Palmyrenis quae in Museo Capitolino adservantur interpretandis epistola F. Augustini Antonii Georgii Eremitae Augustiniani ad eruditissimum virum Nicol.. Canonicum Fogginum Corsinianae Bibliothecae praefecto. Romae 1782. in 8° 176 P.

(*Translation*).

Letter of the Augustinian Hermit,[2] Brother Augustine Antony George, on the interpretation of the Palmyra inscriptions, which are preserved, in the Capitoline Museum, to the most learned Nicolas, Canon of Fogginum, Prefect of the Corsinian Library. Rome 1782. in 8° 176 P.

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1. I give the correct reading and translation as kindly done for me by Father R. Zimmermann, Professor of Sanskrit in St. Xavier's College.

2 The order of Augustinian Hermits referred to here, was a monastic order among the Roman Catholics which claimed to have originated from St. Augustine. This order was known as the Augustin Cannons. It was properly founded in the 11th century. They are expected to follow what is called "the Rule of Augustine." The Rule briefly is "that

The Palmyra Inscriptions.

The Palmyra Inscriptions referred to here, have been found in the ruins of the once very famous city of Palmyra which is spoken of in these Inscriptions themselves as Tamar. In the Bible (I Kings IX, 18 ; 2 Chronicles VIII, 4) it is spoken of as Tadmor, which is said to be a later form, changed from the original Tamar. It is said, that at first, it was Tamar in I Kings IX 18. The city is said to have been first built by Solo mon. It flourished for centuries as a great emporium of trade. Palmyra is its later Greek and Latin name. It had a large temple dedicated to the Sun. The temple had 390 columns out of which 60 were found when its ruins were first discovered by European travellers.[1] In my paper, entitled "A Few Notes on the Pahlavi Treatise of Darakht-i Asurik" [2], I have tried to show, that the Pahlavi "Shatra Asurik" is, properly speaking, "Shatra khajurik", *i.e.* "City of Date-palms," and that this city is the ancient city of Palmyra, which was so called, because it had many palm-trees. [3] In the Hebrew name Tadmore, found in the Bible, I venture to suggest that the first part of the name, *tâd* is something like our Indian *tâd* (ताड) which is one of our Indian Palm species.

Now, the reason why Anquetil has taken a Note of its inscription in his own copy of the Zend-Avesta, is not clear. (*a*) It was, perhaps, because the city had long historical connections with the Persians in whose hands, it had passed for a long time.

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the monks are to have all things in common ; that the rich who enter into the order are to sell their possessions and give them to the poor; that nothing is to be received without leave of the superior ; that they are never to eat, but in their monastery ; that when they go abroad, they must go two together in company ; that they are to employ the first part of the morning in labouring with their hands, and the rest in reading; they have Saturday allowed to provide themselves with necessaries, and are permitted to drink wine on Sundays ; and if at any time they are obliged to retire through persecution, they are to betake themselves immediately to the place whither their superior has withdrawn. These, with several other precepts relating to charity, modesty, chastity, and other Christian virtues, constitute what is called the rule of Augustine, which was read to the monks once a week. The Augustines are clothed in black and make one of the four orders of mendicants." (Beeton's Dictionary).

1. Encyclopædia Britt. 9th Ed. Vol. 18, p. 198.

2. Journal, K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 3, pp. 78-90.

3. "Even the name of Tadmor or Palmyra, by its signification in the Syriac as well as in the Latin language, denoted the multitude of palm trees which afforded shade and verdure to that temperate region." Gibbon's Decline and Fall of Rome (Ed. of 1845) Vol. I. p. 183. According to Burgess, the *Tad* (Borassus and flabelliformus) is known as Palmyra palm (Burgess's Rock-cut temples of Elephanta p. 1).

(*b*) Again, as said above, the city had a sun-temple.[1] So, its inscriptions may be of some use in the study of what was said in the Zend Avesta about the reverence paid by the Persians to Khorshed the sun, and Meher (Mithra) the Yazata presiding over Light. In fact, we find, as we will see later on, a reference to Mithra in Anquetil's further note on this very slip of paper. (c) Again, perhaps the fact of Zoroastrian priests using the leaves of the date-palm in their liturgical services,[2] may have interested him in the matter of the City of palms.

I do not know what particular book of Palmyra Inscriptions and what particular letter is referred to. It was only at the end of the 18th century that the ruins were discovered.[3] It was in 1751 that Wood and Dawkins first studied its architecture and it was in 1753 that they published copies of its inscriptions. "The great epigraphic wealth of Palmyra was first thoroughly opened to study by the collections of Waddington and De Vogüé made in 1861-62."[4] So it seems that Anquetil's reference is to a manuscript letter and not to a printed letter. Anquetil gives reference to 6 pages of the book and takes a note of what these pages refer to. I will speak here of the 6 references :

The six notes on the slip about the Palmyra Inscription (*a*) Refutation of Barthélemy.

The first note reads "Refute l'Abbé Barthélemy." It means that the above-mentioned Inscriptions refute Abbé Barthélemy. As Anquetil has not stated what particular statement of Abbé Barthélemy is in question, I am not, at present, in a position to speak on the subject. If the book of inscriptions is identified, we may, later on, refer to its page 176, and see what the subject is.

Abbé Barthélemy.

As to Abbé Barthélemy, he was Jean Jacques Barthélemy, who was born in 1716 and died in 1795. He had assisted Anquetil in his adventure of coming to India. He was learned in various subjects. He was a great friend of Comte de Caylus who also had assisted Anquetil in his project. His studies

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1 *Vide* Dr. Robertson Smith's interesting article on Palmyra in Encyl. Britt. 9th Ed. Vol. XVIII.

2 *Vide* my "Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Parsees" pp. 291-93. For Anquetil's references to the Date-tree, vide his Zend Avesta Vol. II. pp. 399, 404.

3 Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire I. p. 183 n. (Ed. of 1845).

4. Dr. R. Smith in Encyclopædia Britannica 18th vol. (9th ed.) p. 203.

are spoken of, on account of their variety of subjects, as "une mosaüque". He had made a large collection of medallions. He was an author of a number of books. We learn the following particulars about him from Anquetil's own work.

(*a*) When Anquetil communicated to him, as to other savants, his project of going to India for study, he approved the project. He and other scholars encouraged him and pointed to him the Académie des Belles Lettres as the final goal of his work *i.e* they hinted, that if he succeeded, his success will lead to his being elected a member of that body (Ils me montrerent de loin l'Académie des Belles-Lettres comme le terme de mes travaux).[1]

(*b*) It was this abbé who procured for Anquetil the help of other influential personages.[2]

(*c*) The year 1761 was the year of the Transit of Venus. After Anquetil's departure from Paris to start for India, when he was waiting at the Orient, a town in the Bay of Biscay, where he had arrived on 16th November 1754, some of his friends thought of the coming Transit and it occurred to them that Anquetil may carry astronomical instruments with him to India to observe the Transit scientifically. So, M. le Comte de Caylus and M. Lamoignon de Malesherbes sent to Anquetil when he was waiting at the Orient, a box containing the instrument. L'Abbé Barthélemy sent, in the box, some books also from his library to help Anquetil ("M. l'Abbé Barthelemy grossit la caisse de plusiers bon Livres tirés de son Cabinet)."[3]

(*d*) In his return voyage to Europe, his ship, which left Bombay on 28th April 1761, halted for some days at Hanover and at Tellichery whence he went to Mahi. There, he received a letter from Abbé Barthelemy, whom he had previously informed that he had finished the translation of the first chapter of the Vendidad, advising him to go on drawing out from the Dasturs all possible light, which they can give, on ancient Persia till he finished translating the whole of the writing attributed to Zoroaster. He also recommended Anquetil to include in his voyage, Egypt, where many discoveries were made at the time by M. de Guignes [3].

1 Zend Avesta, vol. I. p. VI.

2 Ibid. p. X.

3 Ibid p. CCCXVI n. 1.

(*e*) Anquetil refers to him again in his account of his return to Paris, and says, that he found in him an "obliging scholar" (sçavant obligeant).[1]

(*f*) He and M. de Guignes were the two examiners who were named by the Academy to examine his Ms. work before publication (*Vide* for their certificate Anquetil's Zend Avesta Vol. I p. xxxvii, the page after the Errata.)[2]

We have in our Society's Library the English translation in 7 volumes of the work of Abbé Barthelemy, entitled "Travels of Anacharsis the younger in Greece." The author, in these volumes, introduces us to the antiquities, manners and customs of ancient Greece, and that not in a direct form, but in the form of a description by a traveller, named Anacharsis, who travelled in Greece in the 4th century B.C. I think, in the selection of the title for his work, Abbé Barthelemy followed Xenophon, who has, in his Cyropaedia, taken Cyrus the Elder as the hero of his book, and has given his views, associating them with the name of Cyrus. The full title of Abbé Barthelemy's work is "Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce dans le milieu du quatrième Siècle avant l'ere Chretienne." Anacharsis the younger, under whose assumed name Barthelemy handles his subject, is supposed to be a descendant of Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, who flourished in the 7th century B.C., and who visited Athens in the time of Solon. He was "the only barbarian ever admitted to the honour of citizenship. [3]

(*b*) The Cypress of Aderbedjan.

The second Note on the above slip of paper referring to the Palmyra Inscriptions, runs thus:

"P. 42 explique d'une manière curieuse le Cypres planté dans l'Aderbedjan." (Hyde p. 382).

The reference to Dr. Hyde is to the second edition of his Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum (Ed. of 1760). The reference is to the subject wherein the author refers to the tree at Kashmar or Kâshmar (كاشمر). Anquetil, in his Zend-Avesta, refers to Zoroaster having brought a cypress in Kaschmer in Korassan (Vol. I, partie 2, pp. 33, 46-47 and 61).

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1 Ibid CCCCXXXIX and n. 1. Vide my "Anquetil Du Perron of Paris and Dastur Darab of Surat" p. 58.

2 Ibid CCCCLXXVIII.

3 Beeton's Dictionary of Geography and Biography, new edition by G. R. Emerson Vol. I, pp. 123-124.

The cypress, referred to, is the cypress, which, according to Firdousi and other writers, Zoroaster planted at the court of King Gushtasp. Firdousi says: "It was a tree with many roots and a large number of branches, spreading from the mansion of Gushtâsp and the top of his palace. The leaves of that tree were good counsels and the fruit was wisdom. How can one who eats of such fruit (*viz.*, wisdom) die?"[1] Now, the reason, why Anquetil has taken this note, seems to me to be, that the author referred to by him has spoken of it as the Cypress planted in Âdarbâdgân, while all references to it point to Khorassan as the place of its growth. As the name of the place differed, Anquetil seems to have taken a note of it.

The Cypress.

The third note refers to Anquetil himself. It says: "P. 49 Me réfute sur[2] ce que j'ai dit que Zoroastre n'avait (?) pas été instruit par les Juifs."

(*c*) A refutation of his view.

It seems that the book referred to above refutes the view of Anquetil that Zoroaster was never instructed by the Jews. I cannot trace where Anquetil has said so. I have not been able to find any statement to that effect in his Zend Avesta. On his return to Paris and before the publication of the three volumes of his Zend-Avesta, he had published according to Darmesteter,[3] the following articles:

(*a*) "Mémoire sur l'authenticité de l'Avesta" in the "Journal des Savants." of May-June 1769. This Journal is not available here.[4]

(*b*) "Comparaison du système théologique des Mages d'après Plutarque et d'après les textes Zends." It was published

1. Vuller's Text of the Shâh-nâmah III p. 1497, *Vide* my paper before the B. B. R. A. S. entitled "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (Vol. XIX pp. 247-48. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 109-10). *Vide* Ousley's Travels in Persia Vol. I p. 389. *Vide* The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I pp. 306-9. *Vide* રેહબરે દીને ઝરથોસ્ત by Dastur Erachji S. Meherji Rana, p. 40. *Vide* Jackson's "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Iran" p. 80. Ousley (Travels in Persia Vol. I. p. 389) says that "the tree reminds us of that extraordinary triple tree, planted by the Patriarch Abraham and existing until the death of Christ."

2. Perhaps the word may be read 'de.'

3. Zend Avesta Vol. I Introduction p. XIII.

4. I am very sorry to read, what our Librarian says in his letter, dated 24th July 1924: "I regret we have not any volume of this in the Library. We had a few odd volumes but they were discarded by the Managing Committee a few years ago." It is a pity, that such old Journals of learned Societies are discarded in this way.

in the "Mémoires de l'Académie." The full title of the Memoires is "Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles lettres, avec les Mémoires de Littérature tiré des Registre de cette Académie, depuis l'année MDCCLXIV jusqua et compris l'année MDCCLXVI", Tome Trente-quatrième p. 376. The full title of Anquetil's article is "Système Theologique des Mages, selon Plutarche, comparé avec celui des anciens livres que les Parses attribuent à Zoroastre, leur Legislateur.,"[1]

(c) "Exposition du Système théologique des Perses d'après les textes zends, pehlvis, et parsis; recherches sur l'age de Zoroastre." This article was published in the above Mémoires Vol. XXXVII pp. 570-710. It is not available here.

I do not find in the above available volume, the above referred to view of Anquetil. So, perhaps it is in one of the other two articles.

(d) Note on the Calbovis.

The fourth Note reads thus:

"Les Calbovis du mont Leban. Hyde 515."

The Calbovis[2] seem to be the Kalbians who live round about mount Libanu or Lebanon. John Henry Grose, in his "Voyage to the East Indies." (1757), refers to them, and says that, like, the Suffists, they "outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion" (p. 357).

The reference to Hyde is to the second edition of Dr. Hyde's above mentioned Veterum Persaram Historia Religionis p. (515), where in the Appendix I, referring to p. 36 of the text a note is given on the Calbii and Durzii living on Mount Lebanon.

(e) A reference to Ormuzd.

The fifth note is not legible. It reads like (p.) "152 Agli Col Ormuzd."

I do not understand what is meant to be said here. Perhaps what was meant by Anquetil is that Agli (or whatever the name may be), referred to in the book of Palmyra Inscription, is the same as Ormazd of Persia.

(f) Reference to Mithra.

The sixth and the last note on this slip of paper is (p.) "166 Matarbal Mithra ou le soleil." The first word is not clear. Perhaps, by a reference to the book of Palmyra Inscriptions, some light may be thrown

1. This Memoir is in our Library. It is I. I. c-1.
2. The reading is doubtful.

on the word. What is meant by Anquetil seems to be that the name (whatever it may be) is the same as Mithra or the Sun of the Avesta.

(2) Reference to De Guignes, Rousseau and others.

Now, we come to a Note on the first page of the third fly-leaf of Vol. I. We read : Voy (ez) l'extr (ait) dans le Journal des Savants. November 1771 pp. 709-716 n. 4[1] par M. de Guignes, la réponse générale à la critique par M. de Guignes. Mai 1772 p. 252-(272)-274.

" Le 25 avr (il) 1788 M. Genin 1r Comm. des aff (aires) Etrang (eres) a fait la 2e lecture de son 2nd Meme sur les *Runes ;* il a dit qu'il avait reç (u) une lettre de M. Rousseau Consul General de Bagdad qui lui marque qu'il a vu dan les mains des Parses d'Iezd des Mss. en caracteres de Persepolis clous[2] et je lui ai représenté que le fait était certainement faux, qu'il fallait les attendre (?) que c'était du *zend* ou du *Pehlvi.*

" Ce Rousseau un natif d'Ispahan, a été à Surate du tem(p)s de mon frere s'est sauvé[3] à Paris portant toujours l'habit (?)[4].... long auprès de M. De Captries qui a été Consul à Bassora, et il dira voir tout ce qu'on lui demandera. C'est le caractère des chretiens (?) du pays.[5]

Reference to De Guignes' theory.

The reference in the above note to De Guignes' reply to the criticism in 1771 seems to be to the theory, which he held, that the origin of the Chinese nation was an Egyptian colonization. He stuck to this theory, upto his death on 19th March 1800.[6] His work on this subject was entitled " Mémoire dans lequel on prouve que les Chinois sont une colonie Egyptienne " published in 1759-60. His theory is said to have seduced a number of savants at the time but was criticised as absurd by others.

Rousseau.

The Rousseau referred to in the above note was Jean François Xavier Rousseau who was born at Ispahan in 1738 and died in 1808. He was a great French diplomat. The famous Jean Jacque Rousseau (1712-1778),

1 Doubtful. It may be 'intr.' for Introduction. 2 Cuneiform, lit. nails. 3 Concealed, disguised, reserved. 4 Doubtful. It seems to be some word for dress.

5 Then follow four lines, which are illegible owing to faint ink.

6 We find even now the theory occasionally propounded, that Egypt was the country from which civilization spread to the East and furthest East.—Vide "The Childran of the Sun". A study in the Early History of Civilization " by W. J. Perry. Vide my paper "A Few Notes from Recent Anthropological Literature" read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 2nd July 1924.

whose philosophy had greatly influenced the France and even the Europe of his time, was his father's cousin. His father had come to Persia, in 1708, on an embassy, and had become a principal jeweller (le principal joaillier) of the Shah there. Young J. F. Xavier Rousseau knew several languages of Asia and Europe. He was "chargé des affaires" of France in Persia in 1775. During his visit of Paris he continued to put on oriental costume.[1] In 1782, he was the consul of France at Basra. Later on, he became consul at Bagdad and remained in that post till his death. The writer of his life in the Dictionay of Larouse says: "Son erudition and son autorité fures très utile aux voyageurs Niebuhr, Pagés....et autres." It was during the time of his stay in Persia as "chargé des affaires" that he must have visited Yezd, and it must be during that visit that he may have seen in the hands of the Parsees there some Avesta Mss. which he thought were in the letters of the Persepolitan Cuneiform inscriptions. Anquetil very properly corrected him by saying that the Mss. he may have seen must be in Zend (Avesta) and Pehlvi characters.

As to what Anquetil says, that Rousseau was in Surat when his brother was there, we do not find any direct statement to that effect in the account of his life in the Dictionary of Larouse. But, we read there, that "he came to the help of several Frenchmen who had fallen in a miserable condition in India, sent them money for maintenance in the colony of Mâhi ("vint au secours de plusieurs Francais qui étaient tombés dans la misère dans l'Inde envoya à ses frais des vivres à la colonie de Mahi.")

As to Anquetil's reference to his brother Anquetil du Briancourt being in Surat, we know from his first volume, that he was at Surat in the service of the French factory. He came to India some time after Anquetil's arrival.

Reference to Mr. Clootz.

Then we come to four lines which, of all the Notes of M. Anquetil, are the most difficult to read, not only on account of their bad handwriting but also because of their very faint ink. M. Daniel Levi has read some words here and there as follows:

"M. Clod ..... attaquer les saints livres Zend Avesta ..... Appelé la Zend Av ...,.. Phillo-phuiller." After several hours painful attempt with a magnifier, I have read a

[1] It is this fact that is referred to above in the Note.

part of this Note as follows, and in my reading I think I am sure with the first name :

M. Clootz P[1] ..... du club du Jacobin retracte une .... qu'il avait ..... de l'Evangile [2] .....de l'accepter d'attaquer ce saint livre ..... zend Avesta .....appelé le zend Av ..... le Philosoph ..... 10 Fev. 1791.

The M. Clootz, referred to in this most difficult of difficult notes of Anquetil, is Baron Jean Baptiste who was born in 1775 and died in 1794. He was known as Anacharsis Clootz, the first part of which name Anacharsis, he had assumed from the name of the book of Abbé Barthelemy above referred to (p. 90), *viz.*, "Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grêce Etc." He was born near Cleves and had gone to Paris at the age of eleven for study. While there, he took up the Anarchic teachings of his uncle Cornelius de Paum. Thereafter, he gave up his title and his Christian baptismal name and took up the above name of Anacharsis and, like the holder of that fictitious name in Barthelemy's work, travelled and wandered in Europe, preaching anti-Christian views. Not only did he preach against Christianity but ran down all revealed religions. He returned to Paris in 1789. He was a member of the Jacobin Club, a club of the most violent revolutionists, founded in Paris in 1789. Robespierre, the chief of the Jacobins (1758-1794) brought about his dismissal from the Jacobin Club, and some time after, he was put to death.

It seems that like Robespierre, his character was possibly made up of contradictions. Robespierre had at first conscientious scruples against the infliction of death sentence, but when he came to power, he caused many deaths as a Revolutionary, and he himself, becoming a victim was dragged to the guillotine. Similarly, Clootz, who also became a victim of his own anarchical teaching and was condemned and put to death, had at first run down all religions, but, latterly, his extravagances are said to have become somewhat solemn and he published a book on, at least, one religion, the Mahomedan, under the title of "La Certitude des Preuves du Mahometism."

Now Anquetil's above note, though mostly illegible, seems to point to some events and traits of the character of Clootz. If I have read the word correctly, there was something, in 1791,

[1] This illegible word seems to signify some office or position held by M. Clootz in connection with the Jacobin Club.

[2] Doubtful.

about three years before his death, of a kind of "*retracte*" or retraction of what was previously said. His expulsion from the Jacobine Club at the hands of Robespierre may be due to some kind of retraction. Anquetil's note, if fully deciphered by better readers than myself, will help us to know what is said about the Zend Avesta in this note.

This indistinct note finishes the notes on the fly-leaves of the first volume.

VI

NOTES IN THE BODY OF THE VOLUME.

Now, we come to a number of Notes in the text itself of the first volume. We find I. Notes on slips of papers, and II. Notes on the margin. I will now speak of these:

I. NOTES ON SLIPS OF PAPER.

We find that Anquetil has put down some Notes on slips of paper. It seems that Dr. J. Lee, who subsequently owned the volumes, put the slips mostly in their proper places. That it was he who did so appears from his name "J. Lee" which he has put down on most of them. I will now speak of these Notes on slips attached to different pages.

(1) Note about Bamlipatam; slip after p. 126.

This Note reads as follows: "..... Établissement a Bamlipatam (Palorte) des cent personnes (?) cet an (1777 ..... (?) donné par Hider Acbar."

Translation.—Establishment of Bamlipatam (Palorte) of hundred persons, this year 1777 ..... given by Hider Acber.

Bamlipatam is a village in the Malabar district. It was the Portuguese name of Palorte. Anquetil himself says: "Palorte, que les Portugais appellent Bamlipatam" (Tome I P. I. p. 126 n. 1). Its river also carries the same name (Ibid. p. 169 l. 3). It had a Catholic church dedicated to "Notre Dadame des Neiges." (Ibid p. 184 No. 28). Palorte is also written as Pallourte (Vide Tome II Index p. 748 col. 2). Hider Acbar seems to be the Haider Ali of Mysore (1702-1703).

The first words in the third line are difficult to read. Are they " parsee de Bombay "(?) It is with very great diffidence that I suggest this reading. It is known that a Parsee of Bombay was associated with Haider Ali in his war with the neighbouring state. We read in an account of Hyder Ali's life :[1] " He is said to have induced his brother to employ a Parsee to purchase artillery and small arms from the Bombay Government."[2] We read at the bottom of the slip in pencil a note saying " Vol. I p. 187." It seems to be in the hand of Dr. Lee. The slip must strictly be said to belong to p. 126 n. 1, where we find a reference to Bamlipatam.

In interpreting these notes, we must bear in mind, that they are mere stray notes put in by Anquetil, to be perhaps amplified and connected with the text; so they must not be taken as a running sentence.

2 The slip on p. 170, on an abbé and the Avesta Ahunavar.

The next slip is attached to p. 170. It reads :

" Le 7[3] 9bre 1783[4].

M. l'Abbé Adheach, chanoinie de M. D. qui travaille sur le Zend-Avesta &c. m'est voir avec M. G. ? au surtout. Ques. sur le Verbe, l'Yonover, la Parol. Autre dito il y a predicateur a dit que la croyance de Verbe &c. etait dans l'Orient avant le Chrestianism a cité les passes (?)

M. l' Adheach lira ..... sur l'autorité cité &c. me consultera &c.

---

1 During my visit of Mysore and Seringapatam about 18 years ago, I remember having seen, in a large picture in a palace, a Parsee standing with other courtiers in his full dress.

2 Encyclopædia Brittanica 9th Ed. Vol. 12 p. 427 col. 2.

3 The figure may be read 5, but as it is like the second figure of the year (1783), I have read it as 7.

4 The last figure may be read as 7 ; But as ' 7 ', the second figure in the number for the year is not like this, one should not read it as 7. The second figure in the year (1783) cannot be other than 7 because Anquetil lived in the century denoted by 17. As he speaks of the visit of a person to him, there is no doubt that the year is seventeen hundred and eighty-three (the last figure may be different).

Translation :—7th November 1783.

Mr. Abbe Adheach (of the) Canonry of M.D. who works on the Zend Avesta &c. came to see me with M.G. ....(?) .....[1]

Question.—On the Word, the Yonover,[2] the Word. Another Question.[3] There is.....a preacher (who) has said that the belief of the (Holy) Word &c. existed in the East before Christianity. (He) has cited the passages. Mr. (abbot) Adheach will read.....? on the authority quoted &c. (and) will consult me.

This slip of paper attached to the plate between pp. 270 and 271, bears some faint writing in pencil by some later hand, giving the decipherment of some words. Then at the bottom, it has the following, words :

" Vol. I, p. 170

J. Lee."

It seems, that the slip was, at first, a loose slip, and the above referred to Dr. Lee, thinking that it referred to something on p. 170 of the first volume, wrote that Note with his own hand. But it does not appear to have any reference to anything said on this page.

Then some later handwriting (which also seems to be that of Dr. Lee) has corrected this reference in faint pencil and we read " See Vol. 2,176 (=I, 2, 176)." This is a very proper correction, because, on p. 176 of the second part of the first volume, we find a reference to the Ahuna vairya prayer, and the word there is written by Anquetil as " Honover."

---

1 This word seems to be surtout. If so, it may mean, with the preceding word which seems to be au (au surtout), " in an overcoat"; or it may mean especially. Then the word may run in connection with what follows *i.e.*, he came to see me especially on the question. (The question is referred to in the next line.)

2 Yonover is the Honover (Avesta " Ahuna Vairya," the prayer known as Yathâ Ahû Vairyô). Anquetil says of it: " Nom général de la parole d'Ormuzd (Vide his Zend Avesta, Tome II, Table des Matieres, p. 697 1st Column).

3 We read the word 'dito' (Eng. ditto) under the word " ques(tion)" of the preceding line. So, I think what Anquetil means to say is that his " another question was &c."

3 The slip attached to p. 425 on an Event at Poona.

We read on this slip: " Aprés la mort du chef des grands Marates resident à Ponin, guerre pour le partage des biens entre Rougunatrao et sa niece femme de Moraro; le 1r cede Salsette aux Anglais, pour le faire un appui. Ils prennent Tanin le 28- 10bre 1774; s'appairent leur (?) Les Marates saisi de'lois se recouvertent (?) Ils ..... anglais qu'ils prient aux Francais de faire un establissement chez eux ?[1]

Translation.—On the death of the chief of the great Mahrattas, residing in Poona, war for the division of the property between Ragounathrao and the family of the wife of Morarao. The first (*i.e.*, the former ?) gives Salsette to the English for their rendering him support. They took Thana (on) the 28th of December 1774. They ally themselves to them (?); the Mahrathas seized with power.....recover. They.....the English.....They request the French to establish themselves amongst them (?)

The Ragounathrao, referred to in this Note, is the Maratha chief Raghuba (also known as Raghunath) who was the son of Baji Rao I. of Poona. The Maratha power was in ascendancy in the latter half of the 18th century, and in 1760, when Anquetil was in Bombay, the Mahratha Empire was in its zenith. The Morarao, referred to here is Mâdho Râo also spoken of as Madhav Râo. He was the fourth Peshwâ. The following passage from Vincent Smith's "The Oxford Student's History of India" (6th Ed., 1916, Chap. XXIV, p. 266) explains the event referred to herein: "The war known as the first Marâthâ war arose out of a disputed succession to the office of Peshwâ. Mâdho (Mâdhava) Râo, the fourth Peshwâ, died in 1772 ..... and was replaced by his brother Nârâyân Râo, who, nine months later, was murdered by his uncle Raghoba (Raghunath). The succession was contested between the murderer and the supporter of his victim's posthumous child, who set up a regency. The English authorities at Bombay promised their support to Raghoba at the price of the cession of Salsette[2] and Bassein and an agreement to the effect, the Treaty of Surat (1775) was concluded without the knowledge of the Governor-General.[3] But he found himself obliged to support the Bombay President in the war which ensued."

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1 The last 4 lines are illegible and unintelligible to me, because Anquetil has added a line over a line and simply scribbled.

2 Tanin or Thana, referred to in this note, formed a part of the Salsette.

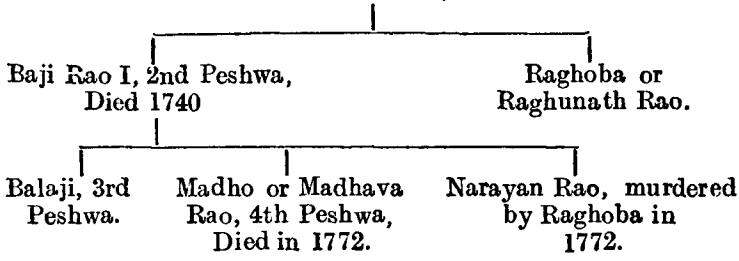
3 Hastings was the Governor-General at the time.

The following genealogical Table explains the relationship between the different Peshwas :—

BALAJI VISHWANATH

1st Peshwa in 1714.

Died in 1720,


Baji Rao I, 2nd Peshwa, Died 1740
Raghoba or Raghunath Rao.
Balaji, 3rd Peshwa.
Madho or Madhava Rao, 4th Peshwa, Died in 1772.
Narayan Rao, murdered by Raghoba in 1772.

At the foot of this note also, we read, in Dr. Lee's hand, a Note saying "Vol. I, p. 424." There is also the same Note in faint pencil. It seems, that at first, he made the Note in pencil, and then, assuring himself that he was right, he made the Note in ink. This Note properly points out the place or the page where the slip should go because, it is here (pp. 424-425), that Anquetil refers to Thana (Tanin) in describing his return journey to Surat from the Elephanta caves. As all the events had happened subsequent to his departure from India he takes a Note of what he had subsequently heard or read.

Having finished an examination of the Notes on slips of paper, I now come to the marginal Notes in the Volume itself.

II—MARGINAL NOTES.

We have a number ef marginal notes. They are of two kinds : (1) Those which correct the error in the print, and (2) those which give some additional information on the subjects, treated in the pages on the margin of which they stand. As to the errors in print, we find, that Anquetil seems to have gone over his work very carefully with a view, perhaps, of a second edition. We find from these volumes, that he had taken care to mark even the errors of the omission of small punctuations like comma, &c. There are marginal notes, drawing attention here and there to other references. We know, that in the first volume in the first set of pages, numbered XVII-XXXVI, Anquetil has given a very long exhaustive Errata (p. XVII)

saying :—"Il y a beaucoup de fautes dans cet ouvrage ; le plus grand nombre est de moi, les autres on échappé à l'Impression. Je m'arrêterai surtout à celles qui blessent le sens, ou qui le rendent incertain ; le Lectuer voudra bien corriger le reste de lui-meme, et suppléer la ponctuation dans les endroits où, quoique vicieuse, elle ne cause aucune obscurité." This explains his solicitude to note down even the minutest errors, like those of punctuations, with a possible view to a second edition.

The following is a list of the pages bearing marginal Notes, with my few observations :

P. XX of Errata.

(*a*) The first important marginal note in the Errata reads :—

[1] .. des Lettres du Bengale établé Mogul par les Marates. Siège a Dehli Gazette de France[2] 31 Juill. 1772.

Anquetil's references in the Marginal Note to the events of 1772 seem to be explained by what we read in Smith's "Oxford Students' History of India" (p. 261). We read there as follows :—"But the Marâthâs, although hit hard by the disaster of Pânîpat, soon began to recover power, and at the close of 1770, Mâhâdajî Sindia occupied Delhi. He persuaded Shah Âlam to quit Allahabad and return to the capital. The Emperor thus became a dependent of the Marâthâs, and Hastings was justified in withholding a payment of the Bengal tribute, and in treating Allahabad and Karâ as abandoned by the emperor."

The event also seems to be explained by the following which we read in the History of Dow (2nd edition, vol. II, p. 333), referred to by Anquetil on the page of the Marginal note :—

"The King (Alamgir II) and his eldest son Ali Gohar, were, in the meantime, kept state prisoners. The latter made his escape in 1772 ..... The vizier, by the means of insidious letters, in which Ittul Raw .....and many other Omrahs, swore to protect him, inveigled him to Delhi. But, in violation of all oaths and fair promises, he was instantly confined by Ghazi in the house, of Alla Murda, where he remained for the space of two months."

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1 The edge of the page having been cut off, the first word is not clear. It may be lu, *i.e.*, read.

2 Doubtful reading.

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Anquetil's reference to Mr. Dow's History on p. 20 of his Errata, is to the first edition of Alexander Dow's "History of Hindostan; translated from the Persian." After the publication of Anquetil's work, a new edition of this History was published in 1812, in three volumes, in an amplified form, with two dissertations in place of one referred to by Anquetil. The title of this new edition runs thus: "The History of Hindostan; translated from the Persian, to which are prefixed two Dissertations; the first concerning the Hindoos, and the second on the Origin and Nature of Despotism in India; by Alexander Dow, Esq. A new edition in three volumes, London 1812."

(*b*) The second marginal note of the Errata is not clearly written out. When the difficult parts are properly arranged as indicated by marks like ∧ and × it reads thus:

P. 486 lig. [1] 9 lis [2]. est precedée de'.

P. 486 lig. 3 lis. Vendidad sadé. Je donne séparement la Vendidad proprement si-dit quoiqu' il fassent partie du Vendidad-sadé ou il est mêlé avec Izeschnè et la Vendidad parceque."

These marginal notes, in order to be better understood, must be read with what is said on page 486 of the first volume of Anquetil ll. 9 and 3. Anquetil wants to make a reference to what he has said on p. 486 and suggests a correction. The references to the Vendidad Sadé and the Vendidad properly so-called refer to the fact that this Vendidad contains in itself the Yasna and the Visparad also.

MARGINAL NOTES OF DISCOURS PRÉLIMINAIRE.

P. 30. The Note reads: "Bibl. Germ. T. 48 p.112." I do not know to what Library (Bibliothèque) Anquetil refers. He seems to desire to add this marginal note of reference, if another edition of his work was published. Perhaps the word Germ. may be read Gen. m., *i.e.*, Gentil Ms. Then, that may be a reference to the library of an orientalist M. Gentil. Vide below (p. 107), marginal note of p. 274.

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[1] Abbreviation 'of ligne' [2] Abbr. of lisez

[3] The word Sadé, if it is Pers. *Sâdeh*, simple, seems to be a misnomer, because such a Vendidad is not "simple" but "mixed." So, I think, the word may be Sada, inconvenience, trouble, because the recital of the three—the Vendidad proper, the Yasna and the Visperad-causes an inconvenience or trouble to the reciter, requiring him to be very careful to preserve the proper order of the arrangement of the chapters.

P. 48. "ou du Schodjaa frère de Aurangzebe. Voy. de Graaf (?) p. 47-49."

He says of the palace referred to in his text, that it was of Shuja, the brother of Aurangzebe. Shah Jahan had four sons, of whom Shuja was the second and Aurangzebe the third. I do not know what book of voyage Anquetil refers to.

(P. 83. There is a marginal note in English in pencil on p. 83 of the Discourse, which refers to Ezour[1] Vedam, which reads: "This book is a forgery of the Jesuit Missionaries." This note seems to have been made by a later owner of the volumes, most probably by the above-referred to Dr. Lee. 1)

P. 119. "M. Dupleix, tiré du Bengale, remplacé par un homme foible, occupé luimême à la côte par les guerres &c. tout cela preparé, concerté par les Anglais, pour l'emparer Surem et tranquiliser du Bengale".

Translation.—M. Dupleix, withdrawn from Bengal, (and) replaced by a weak man, occupied himself on the coast, with the wars, all that prepared (and) concerted by the English in order to possess Surem (pore) and tranquilise Bengal.

The reference here to Dupleix's withdrawal from Bengal is to the fact of his being the superintendent of French affairs in Chandarnagar near Calcutta in 1730. The town grew in power and prosperity under him. The reputation that he made there led to his being appointed in 1742, the Governor-General of the French territories in India. Latterly, he came to the South, to the Madras Presidency. In the wars, which rose between two rival claimants for the sovereignty of Carnatic and the Deccan, the British took the side of the rivals who were opposed to those whom Dupleix favoured. The town Surem (written in an abbreviated form with a point at the end) seems to be Serampore near Calcutta. It was for some time held by the Dutch, but in 1845 it was sold to the English.

P. 120. The note reads:—"La compag. Angloise, en rendant justice à la probité de M. Spencer, pense différemment de ses operations dans le Bengale. Memoirs de M. Verelst. Append(ix) p. 134."

This Mr. Spencer is Mr. Spencer who was the Commissioner of Marine in Bombay at the time when Anquetil came to Bombay before his departure to Europe and with whom he lived in Bombay. At first, he was the Chief of the English Company at Surat. Anquetil refers to his "probité" more than once in his work. The English are said to have made their

1. Yajur Veda.

name in his time, owing to his good qualities. He says "Mais ce nom, ils ne le doivent qu'aux qualités personnelles du Chef de l' entreprise (M. Spencer). Il n'a pas moins fallu que l'humanite', la douceur, la *probité* de ce généreus Anglois, pour fair oublier aux naturels du Pays la violence qu'il exerçoit au nom de sa Nation. (Tome I., P. 1., p. 119, last para). Anquetil refers to Spencer's "bonnes manieres" further on also. (Ibid p. 297, l. 13). Again, he says of him: "Si jamais homme a été propre à concilier des partis animés l'un contre l' autre, c'étoit ce généreux Anglois" (Ibid p. 437). He desired the union of England and France. (*Vide* also Ibid, pp. 302, 307, 309).

This and the previous marginal notes are in connection with a long dissertation of Anquetil on the subject of the possession of power in India by the different European nations. It is a subject worth reading even now. What Anquetil means to say by this Note, is, that even a good and honest man like Spencer failed in Bengal, wherein there was much of avidity in the management of affairs. I cannot make out who the Monsieur (the name is not clear) referred to by Anquetil, is, and what his mémoire was. Anquetil refers to a number of Memoirs in his original notes printed in the margin of his pages.

P. 123. The Marginal notes of this page seem to point out the marginal sub-headings of the subject, which may be printed, if a second edition was ever wanted. Or, perhaps, Anquetil only put these for his reference.

(P. 179. Here, there is a Note in English, which runs as: "825. Aiphab. Samper. Born 1772." The number 825 is a correction of number 822 in the body of the text. But, I cannot trace who Aifab Samper, who is said to have been born in 1772, is. The Note is not in the hand of Anquetil, but seems to be in the hand of Dr. Lee. The word 'born' is not French and so evidently it is not a note by Anquetil. 1)

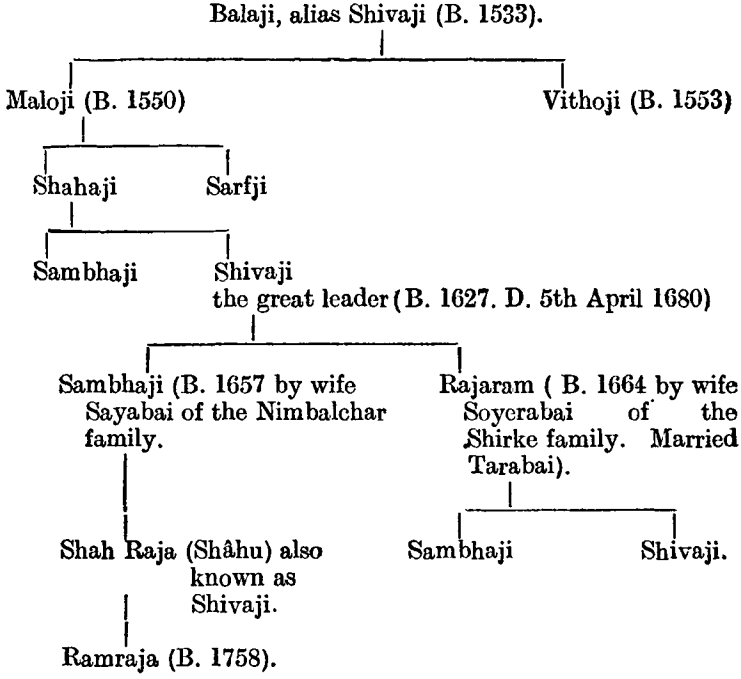
P. 211. We read the following Notes :—

(*a*)" Sevadji fils du Ram Raja, fils de Sevadji.

By this note, Anquetil corrects his statement in the original. The original said that Ram Raja, a Prince of the Marâthâs was the son of Schah Raja who was the son of Sambadji Raja. In this marginal note, he says, that Ram Raja was the son of Sevadji and had himself a son named Sevadji.

(*b*) Again, lower down, he speaks of Sambadji as the son of the great Shivaji and again corrects or modifies that statement by a second marginal Note which reads: Sambadji "fils amié de Rama Raja, fils de Sevadji."

Anquetil seems to be under some confusion about the descendants of the great Maratha leader Shivaji, owing to the fact, that in the rising and descending genealogy of the great Mahratta leader, there are several names that are common. To make the matter clear to the readers, I give below the ascending and descending lines of Shivaji who was related to the Bhonsle (the Bonsolo of Anquetil) family.


Balaji, alias Shivaji (B. 1533).
Maloji (B. 1550)
Vithoji (B. 1553).
Shahaji
Sarfji
Sambhaji
Shivaji
the great leader (B. 1627. D. 5th April 1680)
Sambhaji (B. 1657 by wife Sayabai of the Nimbalchar family.
Rajaram (B. 1664 by wife Soyerabai of the Shirke family. Married Tarabai).
Shah Raja (Shâhu) also known as Shivaji.
Sambhaji
Shivaji.
Ramraja (B. 1758).

The Ramraja, spoken of by Anquetil as the son of the great Shivaji, is generally known as Rajaram.[1] The lower names in the above table are such as are given by Anquetil in the margin.

(c) The third Note on p. 211 refers to Nana, another name, as said by Anquetil, of Balaji Rao who was Peshwa from 1740 to 1761. It runs thus :—

"Passê dans 1761. Deux enfants. 1°[2] Madorao, sous la tutelle de Raguenatrâo, son frère.

1. "The Life of Shivaji Maharaj, Founder of the Maratha Empire, by Prof. Takakhav, adopted from the original Marathi work of K. A. Koluskar (1921), p. 550. I have prepared the upper part of the above genealogical table from the text of this book.

2. *i.e.*, the first.

2°[1] Naranrao, assassiné ensuite par Raguenatrâo en 1774.

Naranrao 9[2] an age, fils de ce dernr[3], Prince Naranrao.....[4])

Translation.—Died in 1761. Two children. 1 Madorao, under the guardianship of Raghunathrao, his brother. 2 Naranrao, assassinated afterwards by Ragunathrao in 1774. Naranrao 9 years of age, son of this last Prince (Naranrao.....[5])

The above names in the marginal notes of Anquetil are explained by the following genealogical table of the Peshwas.[6] (the Pesevè of Anquetil, Tome I, P. 1. p. 211 n.). The events referred to are mentioned in brief with the names.[7]

(1) Balaji Visvanath (1707-20).

(2) Baji Rao (I720–40),

(3) Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61).

Raghunath Rao or Raghoba who claimed Peshwâship (1773-74).

(4) Madho Rao (1761-72)

(5) Narayan Rao assassinated by Raghunath Rao or Raghoba (1772-73).

(6) Madho Rao Narayan (1774-95) commited suicide.

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1 *i.e.* the second.

2 I am doubtful about the figure. It may be some other number of one digit.

3 Dernier. 4 The next line is cut off with the paper.

5 The words which I have read "9 an age" are very badly written. They can be read as one word and as "savage" for "savage," *i.e.*, wild. Then in that case, the word in the next line which I have read above as "prince" may be read as "prive" (*i.e.*, deprive), and then, the meaning would be "The savage or the wild or mad son of the last (person) deprives (himself, of his life)." The missing portion may be words saying something like that. Then the reference may be to the fact that this Naranrao, the (Madhorao) Narayan of our genealogical table which follows, had committed suicide.

6 The Oxford Students' History of India by Vincent Smith (1916), p. 304.

7 Shahu (D.1748), the descendant of Shivaji, had Balaji, Vishwanath as his Peshwa. This Balaji Vidshwanath died in 1720 and his son Baji Rao I. succeeded him. Baji Rao was succeeded by his son Balaji. From 1727, when Shahu had given full powers to Baji Rao I, the Peshwas had become the ruling dynasty.

P. 229.—" J'ai lu et[1] j'ai appris des gens du pays, les details relatifs aux femmes Indoues qui se brulent. Mais je n'ai pas assisté à cette cérémonie barbare, quoique religieuse ; parce que ce qui regarde les Indous n'etoit que se conduire dans sa (?) place ; j'ai ajouté ce trait pour me delivrer des mille de questions que l'on me fassoit sur les usages du pays en cela, j'ai manqué à la verité.[3] Le voyageur de sa tour a tout vu, appri tout de yeux s'affablir....dans ce qu'il zelement vrai. "

The last two or three lines are not clear to me, owing to the last letters on the margin having been cut off. But the sense of the whole seems to be clear. Anquetil seems to defend himself against anything that may be said against his views, expressed in his work on this page about the Hindu custom of Suttee, of which he says in his original writing : " Nature (here) being enervated by heat and accustomed to violence of despotism they look to misfortune, to death itself, with a kind of carelessness or of courage, which, in free countries and temperate climate, one hardly finds among women."[4]

P. 274.—The first marginal note runs as " meurt 91 ans. Gent. (?) *i.e.*, " Died (at the age of) 91 years."

Aurangzeb is said to have died at the age of 88 in the beginning of March 1707.[5] Gent. seems to be (M.) Gentil.

The second note on p. 274 runs as :

" Le 11 Rabbiussani, 1179 de l' heg[6] dans les plaines de Panipat, &c., &c. Mst. [7] de M. Gent.

In this note, Anquetil gives the Mahomedan date and the authority of an event in the reign of Shah Jehan II. As to the

1 The word et seems to have been cut off with the page.

2 The first part of the word having been cut off with the margin the word is not intelligible to me.

3 A letter is cut off with the margin, but the word seems to be verité.

4 *Vide* my " Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab " p. 23. It seems that in ancient times the custom of Suttee was not confined to India. *Vide* my paper on Suttee.

5 Vincent Smiths' " Oxford Students, History of India " (1916) p. 219.

6 Hijri.

7 Manuscript. The word may be 'Sujet'. If we take it for Mss. they are referred to by Anquetil in his work (Tome I.P. 1 p. 256). If we read the word for sujet (subject), Anquetil, when he refers to M. Gentil, speaks of the reference as a " sujet " (Ibid). *Vide* the Index of Anquetil. (Tome II pp. 685-6).

authority, Gentil, he was an Artillery officer of the French army in the Deccan. He had a taste for Oriental Literature and had with him several manuscripts of Oriental subjects. M. Gentil had been of great use to Anquetil in various matters.[1]

P. 332.—" Iliaques ou hypogastriques."

This note is in connection with Anquetil's account of his illness caused by his attempt of assisting a Couli[2] or labourer in lifting up a load. The attempt had caused looseness of some arteries. In this note, he adds that the arteries referred to were the " iliac or illiacal and the hypogastric." The iliac arteries are those which are related to " the ilium or flank-bone "[3] ; Hypograstric arteries are those related to the hypogastrium *i.e.*, those situated in the lower part of the abdomen.[4]

P. 333.—" Ou iliaques."

Anquetil continues his account of his above illness for three pages. Here, he adds in the marginal note that the arteries which he called " arteres umbilicales " in his original writing are also known as " iliac."

P. 334.—" le battements de "

Anquetil, in his continued description of his illness, says, that at last his complaint was cured by a Parsee who took two hours after the work of restoring the arteries to their proper position and was all perspired (en nage) in the operation. He said : " il sentoit l'artere." To make the meaning clear he adds the above words before " artere," which mean " the stamping of"[5]

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1 Ibid VLI. pp. 232, 233, 257.

2 Cooli is a word for porter, a carrier. I think it is an Europeanised form of India ગરી " Gari ", a porter or a labourer (*Vide* Shapurji Edalji's Dictionary).

3 Webster's Dictionary.

4 Ibid.

5 As to the Parsee,who cured Anquetil and of whom he speaks as " the Great Deliverer " (or Succorer)"un Parse robust que j'appellerois presque le *Grand Frere secouriste* de Surate, (p. 333), I thinkhe may be an ancestor of the family of the well-known bonesetter of Surat, known as Bhimji. The profession of bone-setting and such other work relating to injured limbs &c. is hereditary in the family. A later member of the family, Bhimji Jivanji Randelia, so called, because they came from Rander, a town near Surat, was well known as Bhim, and on his death (23rd May 1875) was spoken of as " Bhim Dev " i.e., " Bhim god," on account of his extraordinary power of curing and setting broken bones. He was

P. 365.—" Ils sont les astronomes tres probablement."

In this marginal note, Anquetil takes the "Djetties" to be probably astronomers. But that does not seem to be the case. Jatti is Sanskrit *yati* (यति) and this is a religious mendicant class of the Jain sect. The word at first means "restraint, control." Then, it is, applied to "an ascetic, one who had renounced the world and controlled his passions."[1]

Some of the words on this page are underlined in ink, by somebody. The above marginal note in French and this underlining are not in the hand of Anquetil. They seem to be by the next French possessor M. Lanjuinais. The final 's' at the end of two words in this note, compared with the final 's' in the hand note of Lanjuinais on the back of the first cover of this first volume, shows that this seems to be the case.

P. 368.—" et le 2d grammair."

Here Anquetil explains the word 'Viakkeran' 'grammar.'

P. 369.—" Bhratiah porteur."

Anquetil explains by this note the word 'Bera' which he also explains in his Index (Tome II. p. 644) as "Porteur, nom donné dans les terres à ceux qui portent le Palanquin." As to the first word *bhratiah*, he seems to derive it from a Sanskrit word.

P. 384.—" Pris par les Anglais Comm. par le Gen. Goddard, le 10 Janvier 1787, Conv. de l'Sur 22 Mai 1781.

This note refers to Bassein. By the Treaty of Surat in 1775, the British had promised help to Raghunath or Raghoba, referred to in a preceding note, in the war of succession to the Peshwaship, on the condition that he ceded Salsette and Bassein. The Gen. (General) Goddard, referred to in the Note, is Colonel Goddard whom Hastings had sent from Bengal to Surat. The Treaty of 1782 known as the Treaty of Sâlbâi (a town in Sindia's territory) secured Salsette and Bassein for the English.[2] The

given a public testimonial in 1867 by the public of Bombay. Many Europeans sought his advice in case of accidents. He had learnt the work from his father Jivanji Sorabji Randelia who died on 16th April 1841 aged 72. I think the Parsee referred to by Anquetil may be this Jivanji's grandfather.

1 Apte's Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary.

2 Vincent Smith's Oxford Students' History of India, p. 267.

word after the first figures, 1781, seems to be "Conv." an abbreviation of Convention, *i.e.*, Treaty. The word Sur. seems to be for Surat. The words seem to refer to a Treaty made on 22nd May 1781 after the capture of Bassein by Col. Goddard on 10th January 1781.

P. 407.—" Large environ de 2 cannes et demie, et."

He added this note to give an idea of the breadth (large) of the gallery in a cave in the Kanheri caves. Canne is a long measure. It seems to be something like' Indian kathi.

P. 423.—" Noircie par l'ardeur de soleil, de la nature des pierres de monte, ou de ce qu'on appele *dâba*, ou *de haut et bas apporté*."

Translation.—Blackened by the heat of the sun, of the nature of the stones of the mountain, or of what one calls *dâba* or procured from high and low (or above and below).

Anquetil gives this note on the word " pierre noire", used by him in his text in his description of the Elephanta caves near Bombay. The word dâba, which he has underlined, is, I think, the Indian word *dhâpo* (धापो) from *dhâmpvu* to cover from all directions, *i.e.*, as Anquetil says, from above and below. These are big slabs of stones.

P. 427.—" Je me rendit a Gourbander et suivi en faite." *i.e.* " I went to Gourbander and followed in fact."

This Note is in connection with Anquetil's account of his return journey to Surat from the Elephanta caves. He adds here, that he passed by Gourbander. Gourbander is Gore Bunder which is on this side of the Bassein creek. It is the last place in Salsette proper, where formerly passengers got into boats to cross over to Bassein on their way to Surat.

P. 476.—Here, the Marginal Note simply points at transferring three words from a line above to a line lower down.

P. 489.—" hist Rel. v. Pers. p. "

These abbreviated words on the margin when fully written would be :

" Historia Religionis Veterum Perserum, page "

This is a reference to Dr. Thomas Hyde's great book on the Religion of the Persians. Anquetil has not marked the page, but it is the one which he has marked as " P. 18 " in the commencement of the lines quoted. We find the lines in Avesta

characters both in the first edition of 1700 and in the second edition of 1760. The words "lisez peziram" given in brackets (p. 489 last but two lines) are Anquetil's own addition.

P. 490.—"Sont rapportés en caracteres persans a la p. 278 du nouv (eux) ouvrage de M. Hyde, ils ....."

We find the two couplets (*baets*), referred to by Anquetil, on p. 18 of both the editions of Hyde and also on p. 277 of the first and on p. 278 of Hyde's second edition. In his text, Anquetil speaks of the couplets occurring "du commencement du Viraf-namœh, Poëme Persan." For these lines in Persian, *vide* "Arda Viraf Nâmeh. The Original Pahlavi Text, with an introduction ..... and Persian Version of Zartosht Behram," by Dastur Kaikhusru J. Jamasp Asa (1902) Persian Text p. 1 couplet 16.

P. 493.—We have two marginal notes on this page :

(*a*) "et dans la Traduction du *Saddar* porta[1] 65′ p. 487. bonam Tã Mazdiyasenân Religionem percipito."

On this page, Anquetil criticizes and finds fault with Dr. Hyde's rendering of some passages of the Persian Saddar (Book of 100 gates or chapters), which Dr. Hyde has translated into Latin in his book "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum." He points out, that Dr. Hyde has, in more than one place, misunderstood the word Mazdayaçnân, by taking it to be the name of a book, instead of taking it for the "followers of God."

(*b*) "p. 487. au bien de dire que les femmes ne sont pas obligé à la priere nommé *nëasch*, voici comme il s'exprime '*Fœminis Salutationem (seu Comprecationem, ut salvere jubeat) non injungunt*', preuve qu'il ne savoit pas ce que c'est que le *néaisch*."

The page reference in the beginning is to Hyde's above work, the second edition where Hyde speaks of the 65th chapter of the Sad-dar. Anquetil has attempted, in his work, to show that Dr. Hyde did not know Zend and had made mistakes in understanding the Persian Sad-dar. He has given some instances to prove his statement, and, here, in the marginal note he gives another instance. This subject occurs in the 65th chapter of the Sad-dar. It is the 69th chapter of the

1 i.e., Chap. 65 of the Saddar.

2 Here, the page is of the 2nd ed. of Hyde.

Sad-dar Bundehesh (Vide the Sad-dar Nasr and Sad-dar Bundehesh, edited by Bomanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar 1909 p. 138.) The Sad-dar referred to by Anquetil is the Sad-dar known as "Saddar-i-Behr-i Tavil" in verse (*Vide* chapt. 65 of the Gujarati Translation of the Saddar-i-Behr-i Tavil by Dastur Jamaspji (1881) p. 289)."

P. 500.—"Dict. histor. 5e edit. en 8 vol. 1783 art.[1] Zoroastre. Le Zend Avesta cité comme deposé a la Bibl. du Roi en 1762, trad.[2] et publie en 1770.[3] 2 vol. en 4°par M. Anquetil.

This marginal note is in reference to the question, as mentioned above, raised by a writer of the time, that Anquetil was not the first to translate and publish the Zend Avesta, a question, which seems to have affected him much on his return to Paris from India. Here, he points out, that his work was referred to in the 5th edition of the Dictionnaire Historique.

P. 508.—"en Pontecheri."

This additional Note on the margin refers to Anquetil's description of the coins used in the South of India in Mahi and Talichery. In the body of his work, he has given the reading on the obverse, as "Talicheri P saneh 175," *i.e.* This inscription is in Persian, meaning "Talicheri, struck in (P. *i.e.*, *pa* or *ba*, meaning, 'in') the year 175. (The last digit is omitted because it changes according to the different years). Then Anquetil gives the inscription on the *reverse* as "bera Kopni Francis" which when written in Persian will read : برای کمپنی فرانسیس *i.e.*- "For the French Company." Now, in this marginal note, he adds, that there were also on the reverse, the words "in Pondichery."

P. 517.—(*a*) "avaient"

(*b*) "Qui leur a été enlevé en 1769."

These two marginal Notes seem to have been added by Anquetil with an eye to a second edition, because, after the time when he wrote this volume and before he revised it, the Dutch, of whom he speaks in the text, had removed their company from the Persian Gulf.

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1 Article. 2. Traduit.

3 The figure may be read as 3 (three), Then, in that case, the two parts of the 1st volume are taken as two volumes.

P. 519.—(*a*) "morceau"

(*b*) "morceau de plomb, quarré"

(*c*) "de plomb"

P. 520.—"en gras"

P. 525.—"et trẽs adoriferante"

These marginal notes are only intended for additions to be made in the second edition.

P. 533.—The word "(H) eloua" corrected from "houlch" is Pers. حلاو or حلاوه (halv or halveh) *i.e.* sweets. The words 'Nân o halava" would mean "Bread (Pers. nân) and sweets."

P. 534. (*a*) "Paritachhat" (*b*) "Sakep dew." The first word seems to be Pers, *parizâd i.e.*, born of a fairy. It is opposed to the word Dew or Dev (*i.e.* demon) which follows. The next word "bâtchit" in the text seems to be Indian बातचित (Bâtchit *i.e.*, conversation.) This word corresponds to the word conference in the text. The Rajah Bai referred to in the text as the well-known Birbal musician, poet, story-teller, and conversationalist "of the court of Akbar (Vide Akbar, the Great, Mogul, by V. Smith, p. 236). He seems to have had some discussions with one Din Sakeh". (*b*) The marginal word "kitab" is Pers. کتاب *i.e.*, Book.

P. 536. "Feridoun." The Note corrects the words "sous les premiers rois de" for Feridun, because the story of Zohak is connected with that of Feridun, the Thraétaona of the Avesta. The Note seems to be by some other hand.

P. 537. "Molavai No fer varez."

Anquetil corrects the name of Abu Fazl, wrongly given as the name of the Persian Translator, for this name.

P. 539. "Sur beaucoup de mots"

These words are added simply to render his meaning clear.

P. 541. "Le Ferouesahi Pehlvi"

This Note simply adds the name of the Pahlavi Farokhshi[1] to his names of prayers in the Text.

VII

A FEW MS. NOTES OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

Coming to the second volume (*i.e.*, the second part of the first volume), I will briefly refer, firstly to two important letters, and then to an extract on the Elephanta caves, taken from another Journal or book, the name of which

1 For Farokhshi, *vide* my "Religious Customs and Ceremonies of the Parsees."

is not properly legible. I may take a more detailed survey of this volume at some other time. On the back of the cover of the second Volume, we find the words "Lee, Hartwell," most probably written by Dr. Lee himself.

Then, on the 1st page of the first fly leaf, we find a Note, saying "Pages marked by Mr. Cullimore with papers", and then follow the numbers of pages in Arabic figures with references here and there as to what subjects of the Volume they refer to. This note also seems to have been made by Dr. Lee.

1. P. Van Dyke's Letter.

Then follows a letter attached to the fly leaf of the 2nd Volume (Tome Premier, Second Partie). It has a Note at the top, in the hand of Anquetil, saying, when the letter was received, and when it was replied to &c. with some remarks. The letter runs thus:

MONSIEUR,

Parmi quelques Manuscrits Orientaux qu'un Capitaine de la Marine demeurant en cette ville m'a donné pour examiner s'ils étaient de quelqu' importance, j'ai trouvé un dont, je ne connais pas d'abord les lettres mais en les confrontant avec quelques alphabets que Mr. Niébúhr a donné au 2 Tome de ses voyages, j'ai découvert qu'il était écrit en la langue que Mr. Niébúhr appelle Zend: mais comme cette langue m'est entiérement inconnue, je ne suis pas en état de juger si ce livre est de quelque utilité ã la littérature, et comme je ne connais dans ce pays çi personne qui a quelque connaissance de cette langue, j'ai pris le parti de vous faire part de cette découverte espérant qu'elle vous pourra contribuer quelques plaisir.

Le M'scrit est écrit en format de petit Atlas sur du velin parfaitement bien conservé en caractère assez gros trés distinct sans aucun ornement: les pages sont marquées en haut de chifres Indiens depûis 1 jüsques â 332, les lignes sont souvent entrecoúpées par quelques mots écrits de rouge en caractére Arabes, mais comme je soupconne par le mot گفتن qui s'y trouve souvent en langue Persane. Pour vous mettre en état de juger tant soit peu sur le contenu je joins ici quelques des premières lignes que j'ai copié avec toute l'accuratesse, qui me fut possible:

بنام ایزد بخشایندهٔ مهربان و دادگر

ابتدا کردم بنام کردگاری نیبدان تا دهد توفیق اندر وصف یکتا بهر زبان

la seconde ligne est écrite de rouge comme aussi les figures تا کر et سم à la cinquième et sixième ; comme les caractéres Arabes sont beaucoup plus minces et serrés que les autres, je n'ai pas pu mettre la quatrième ligne tout de suit comme au Mscrit ; ainsi je l'ai continué en montant.

Voilâ, Monsieur, ce que j'espère être suffisant pour vous faire connaitre ce Mscrit ; s'il vous semble digne de votre attention, je vous prie de me vouloir honorer de votre réponse, et de m'en indiquer s'il se peut faire, le contenu ; rien ne me sera plus agréable que d'être en état de vous rendre quelques service et en m'offrant à cela j'ai l'honneur de me nommer,

Monsieur,

Votre T.H. et T.O. Serviteur,

P. Van Dyke.

Bois le Duc 17-85.

Mon adresse est

à P. Van Dyke

Precepteur de l'école Latine,

a Bois le Duc.

in de hinthamerstraat.

TRANSLATION.

" Sir,

" Among some Oriental Manuscripts which a Captain of the Marine living in this town has given me for inspection, if they are of any importance, I have found one, of which I do not know the letters at the first sight, but on comparing them with some alphabets which Mr. Niebuhr has given in the 2nd volume of his Voyages, I have discovered that it (the Ms.) is written in the language which Mr. Niebuhr calls Zend. But as this language

is altogether unknown to me, I am not in a position to judge, if this book is of some use to Literature, and, as I do not know, in this country here, anybody who has some knowledge of this language I have taken the course to inform you of this discovery hoping that it can give you some pleasure.

"The Manuscript is written in the form of a large square folio, on perfectly well-preserved vellum in characters sufficiently large and very distinct, without any ornament. The pages are marked over the top in Indian figures from one up to 332 ; the lines are often intersected by some words written in red in Arabic characters, but, as I suspect, by the word *goftan* which occurs often, in the Persian language.

"In order to place you in a position to judge, ever so little, about the contents, I annex here some of the first lines[1] which I have copied with all the accuracy that was possible for me :

The second line is written in red, as also the figures *tâ ké* and *sé* in the fifth and sixth (line). As the Arabic letters are more thin and squeezed together than others, I have not been able to put the fourth line continuously as in the Manuscript ; so I have continued it upright (or in an ascending way).

"Here, Sir, there is, what I hope to be, sufficient to enable you to recognise the Manuscript, if it appears to you to be worthy of your attention. I request you to be good enough to honour me with your reply and indicate to me, if that is possible, the contents (of the Ms.), There will be nothing more agreeable to me than to be in a position to do you service, and in offering myself to that (service), I have the honour to name myself

Sir,
Your very humble[2] and very
obedient servant
P. Van Dyke.

Bois le Duc 17-85.
My address is
To P. Van Dyke
Preceptor of the Latin School
at Bois le Duc
In Hinthamerstraat[3]

1 *Vide* the original letter above for these lines.
2 "T. H." is an abbreviation of "Trés Humble" and "T. D." of "Trés Obediant" or "Trés obligé."
3 The last part of the name seems to mean "street."

On the very top of the letter, Anquetil has written 9 lines of his Note, as to (a) when he received the letter, (b) when he replied, and (c) what he wrote in reply. It is difficult to read these lines. M. Daniel Levi has kindly tried to read 4 lines and has left off the rest as illegible. I have tried to read further but not with much success. I give here the reading :

" Recu le 15 Avril 1785
Répondu le 17 Avril 1785. les 5 lign[1]. trad.[2] avec la lecture. Engage le Capit. a le presenter aux Et Gen. puis déposé â la Bibl. de Leyde. On peut l'envoyer â M. le G. Irving â qui j'en rendrai compte. Je lire le F ..du.....Zoroastre (?) Les lettres en rouge rendre quelle *ta que* se *goftan* &c.....de Surate 1 B[e] Ex. commence.....celui d' Oxford celui de la Bodl.[3]

In this Note, Anquetil takes a note of what he had written on 17th April 1785, to Van Dyke, in reply to his letter of 15th April. He read and translated the passage given in facsimile by Van Dyke in his letter, and recommended, that the Ms. may be first presented to the Et. Gen. and then deposited in the Library of Leyde.[4] It can then be sent to M. G. (in France) to whom Anquetil may submit his report.

Anquetil then takes a note of what he said in reply about the Arabic figures and the Persian word 'goftan' written in Arabic characters. I will explain here, the specimen para given by Van Dyke and explained by Anquetil.

The specimen quotation by P. Van Dyke is a mixture of Pazend, Pahlavi and Persian. The characters are Avesta and Arabic or Persian. The first line is the usual Invocation of God in Pazend, the second in Pahlavi, and the third in Persian. I give here the translation :

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1 Abbreviated for 'lignes'.

2 Abbreviated for "traduit"

3 Bodlliein (Library).

4 "Et. Gen" seems to be the abbreviation of Etats Generales (i.e., States General), which was formed in the 17th century and to which the sovereign power was transferred.

The Bibliothèque of Leyde, in which Anquetil recommends the book to be placed, is the well-known Library of Leyden which had come into existence since the foundation of the University of Leyden in 1575 by William the Prince of Orange. It is said to possess a rich collection of Arabic and other oriental manuscripts. A catalogue of its oriental Mss. is said to have been published in six volumes in 1851-77.

Translation ;—In the name of God, the Giver of Justice.

In the name of the Creator Ahura Mazda and the Ameshaspand (s).

In the name of God who is Giver, Benevolent and Just.

I have begun in the name of the Creator who is the Knower of Secrets, so that he may give divine guidance (taufiq)[1]—for[2] the praise of god (yak tâ) to every tongue.[3] (Recite the prayer) "*Ferstuyé* upto (*tâ ké*) *staomi ashem*" *Ashem Vohu.* (times)[4]

In Van Dyke's letter, under his specimen Avesta—Pahlavi—Pazend—Persian passage, Anquetil adds correctly a note in his own hand, saying :

"Comm. du Vendidad Sade."

Here the word "comm." is an abbreviation of "commencement."

I beg to produce here, as a specimen, a copy of an old Ms. of the Vendidad, written at Naosari on roz 2 Bahman mah 11 Bahman, year 1073 A. Y. (A. C. 1704) *i.e.*, about 70 years before Anquetil published his Zend Avesta. It was written by the well known Dastur Darab Pahlan.[5]

I give below for comparison the commencement.

The first four Pazend, Pahlavi and Persian lines are written in red ink. Then the 5th Avesta line is given in black. The word *vad* and the figure are also given in red ink. The figure for three is given in Persian.

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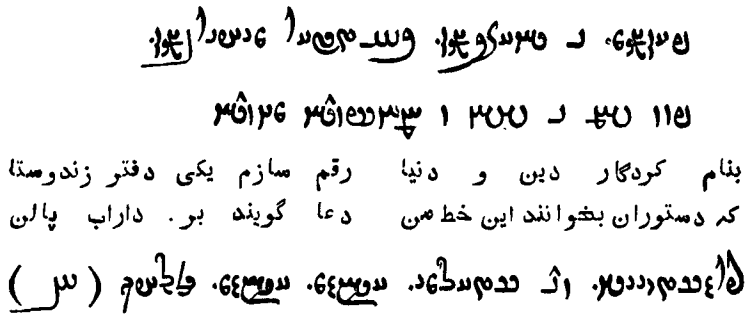
1 The word as written in the specimen passage by Van Dyke, is not correctly written. The word is زرفیق He has given two *nuktehs* over the letter 'ya' which are unnecessary. It may be the fault of the original writer or his fault in copying.

2 Lit. 'in' or 'under'.

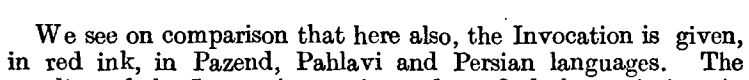
3 It is possible, some may read and translate the last Persian words in a different way. As Van Dyke has written the words crosswise in a line sloping upwards, the reading is rather difficult and one can read otherwise.

4 The Fêrstuyê prayer is known as "Avestâni Patet" *i.e.*, "the Repentance prayer in Avesta," to distinguish it from Patet Pashemâni etc. written in Pazend language. It is the prayer given in Yasna XI. ss 17-18. Here, instead of giving the whole prayer, it is briefly referred to, giving only the first and the last words.

5 For the Life and Work of this Dastur, *vide* my "The Persian Farziât nâmeh and Kholasah-i- Din of Dastur Dârâb Pahlan, Text and Version with Notes" (1924).



بنام کردگار دین و دنیا رقم سازم یکی دفتر زندوستا
که دستوران بخوانند این خط من دعا گویند بر داراب پالن



We see on comparison that here also, the Invocation is given, in red ink, in Pazend, Pahlavi and Persian languages. The wording of the Invocation varies and we find the variation in many Mss. The scribe has his own way of invoking the name of God. The style is well-nigh the same but the wording differs a little. The Avesta portion which is the beginning proper of the Vendidad Sadé is the same with this difference that in the specimen Ms. which I produce, we have the Pahlavi word *vad* for the Persian equivalent tâ ké تا که in Van Dyke's Ms. The word means 'upto' and it explains the ritual. In such an explanation of the ritual, different scribes vary.

We must note here, that Van Dyke, who seems to have known Arabic characters, has misread, miswritten and misunderstood the Persian words تا که. He seems to have taken the words written jointly to be some word for an Arabic figure. Anquetil's explanation, as given in his Ms. note on the top of the letter, is not legible, but it seems from what I can make out, that he has properly understood the word to be تا که "*tâ ké*," *i.e.*, "up to."

Anquetil also explains what Van Dyke says about the oft repeated word, "gottan", in his Ms. of the Vendidad. This word often occurs in the portion which explains the ritual. For example, when the sacred formulas of Ashem Vohû, Yathâ Ahu Vairyô, &c. are to be repeated more than once, the scribes give the instruction in Persian, saying : سه بار گفتن و دو بار گفتن *i.e.*, to repeat "twice or thrice," and so on.

I have written to the Librarian of the Library at Leyden, to enquire, if the Ms. was at the Library, and as to who the Captain referred to was.

Mr. P. Van Dyke refers in his letter to M. Niebuhr's 2nd Volume. It seems strange, why Van Dyke refers to Niebuhr's

work for the specimen of, what he calls, the Zend writing and not to Anquetil's own volumes of the Zend Avesta, one of which, the second volume (Tome I, Partie 2, p. 77) contains a specimen of the Zend characters. The Plate attached to p. 77 of this volume contains an example of the very commencement of the Vendidad Sadé under the heading "Commencement du Vendidad Sâdé" with a "Lecture et Traduction litteraire." But it seems that though Anquetil's work was published in 1771, Van Dyke had not seen the volumes. He had heard of the name and fame of Anquetil, but Anquetil's volumes do not seem to have gone in 1785, when he wrote the letter, to his town of Bois le Duc.

Van Dyke's Boi le Duc is "a city of Holland, capital of the province of North Brabant, 28 S. S. E. of Utrecht[1]." At present it holds seven churches, an episcopal palace, a grammar school "once attended by Erasmus." It is the seat of a Vicar General. It was called Duke's Wood, because it was once a hunting lodge of the Brabant dukes. When we remember the fact, that Anquetil himself had studied Hebrew, Arabic and a little Persian at Amersfoot, which also is in the Province of Utrecht in Holland, it seems, as it were, quite appropriate, that a preceptor of the province of Utrecht, should in a literary matter, seek the advice of Anquetil who also was educated in Utrecht.[2] The fact of M. Taillefer, the head of the Dutch factory at Surat, being very kind to Anquetil when he was at Surat, is also explained by the fact that Anquetil had studied at his (Taillefer's) mother country of Holland.[3]

The first page of Van Dyke's letter bears a Note at the bottom saying:

"Zend Avesta Vol. 2 (I. 2)"

This Note seems to be in the hand of Anquetil himself. He seems to have thought, that the letter may better be attached to the second Volume (*i.e.*, Tome I, Partie 2) as that volume contained his own reading and translation of the commencement of the Vendidad Sadé (on p. 76). The figures "I. 2" in brackets seem to mean Tome I, Partie 2.

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1. Encyclopædia Brittanica (9th ed.) Vol. III., p. 864.

2. *Vide* my paper "Anquetil Du Perron, India as seen by him," read on 16th December 1915 before the B. B. R. A. Society.

3. Ibid.

Then, after some scraps of paper with Notes, the next letter is one from Frederic Münster, Professor of the University of Copenhagen, dated 24th April 1801. We find it among others, attached to the first page of the second fly-leaf of Vol. 2 (Tome I, Partie 2). The letter with Anquetil's Note runs thus :—

2. Frederic Münster's Letter.

Recu le 28 Mai 1801 (?) par M. Grégoire remis à.....
de 28 par M. M. Carmes et Grezille.

MONSIEUR,

La célébrité de votre nom, acquise à si juste titre, me donne la hardiesse de vous adresser cette lettre pour obtenir de votre zèle pour les sciences que vouz avez enrichiés des éclaircissements que personne que vous ne pourra donner, et qui seuls pourront me mettre en état de continuer les recherches auxquelles j'ai depuis quelque temps voué mes heures de loisir.

Vos moments vous sont précieux. Je n'en abuserai pas. Je vous exposerai en peu de mots ce que je souhaite d'obtenir de votre bonté.

Mes études sur les inscriptions à cloux de Persépolis, dont j'ai dernièrement publié les resultats dans les actes de notre académie des sciences, m'ont convaincu que cette classe d'inscriptions qui est alphabètique est écrite en langue Zende. J'en ai taché déchifrer quelques lettres : je crois avoir réussi à deviner les deux voyelles dominantes, et à découvrir plusieurs rapports entre les lettres persépolitaines et celles des Alphabets Zend, Pehlvi, Arménien et Géorgien. Mais cela ne suffit pas : j'ai été arrêté tout court par l'impossibilité de déchifrer les terminaisons des mots lesquelles d'ailleurs étaient assez faciles à reconnaitre, parceque les mêmes mots reviennent avec des flexions différentes, quelques fois aussi avec deux ou trois lettres différentes au commencement. C'est pourquoi j'ose vous prier de vouloir bien me communiquer un extrait de votre Grammaire Zende, qui, en me donnant les déclinaisons et conjugaisons de cette langue me mettrait en état de les appliquer à ces caractéres inconnus, et de faire un second essai d'en déchifrér quelquesunes. Je pourrais alors espérer de faire des progrés plus hereux et peut étre mème de frayer la route sur laquelle on pourrait parvenir en son temps à dévoiler le contenu de ces précieux monuments de la religion des Parses.

Voilà, Monsieur, la faveur que j'ose vous demander. Si vous pouvès me l'accorder, comptés je vous en prie sur ma plus vive

reconnaissance. Je suis entièrement à vos orders pour toutes les commissions littéraires dont vous voudrez m'honorez dans nos contrées. Le citoyen Grégoire vous remettra un exemplaire de mes mémoires sur les inscriptions Persépolitaines que j'aurai soin de lui envoyer avec le premier voyageur qui part d'ici pour la France. Je vous prie de l'accepter comme une marque du respect que je vous ai voué depuis ma jeunesse. Veuillez bien en agréer les assurances.

FREDERIC MÜNSTER,

Professeur de l'Université de Copenhague et Membre de l'Académie des Sciences Danoise.

liste des.....illuminés depuis la fondation de la secte en 1776 jusqu'à la découverte de ses écrits originaux en 1786.

A (Spart-Ingolstadt fondateur de la Weihaupt, Professr en droit *acus*) addition.....

Munster (son nom de guerre), professeur en théologie à *Copenhague* (p. 123).

dans les *Mem. pour servir a l'Histoire du Jacobinisme par M. l'ab. Barruel.* Tom 4. 1799 ch. 8 p. 287.

AU CITOYEN,

Anquetil Duperon,

Rue Chaussée d'Antin, ā Paris.

Vis à vis la rue de provence,

je tiêns cette addresse de M. Grégoire,

Translation.

SIR,

The celebrity of your name, very rightly acquired, gives me the courage to address this letter to you, in order to obtain from your zeal for the sciences which you have enriched, some explanations, which nobody other than you can give, and which alone can put me in a position to continue the researches, to which, I have, since some time, devoted my hours of leisure.

Your time is precious to you. I will not misuse that. I will explain to you in few words what I desire to obtain from your kindness.

My study of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Persepolis of which I have lately published the result in the records of our Académie of Sciences has convinced me that this class of inscriptions, which is alphabetic, is written in Zend language. I have tried to decipher some letters. I believe I have succeeded to guess the two principal vowels and to discover several resemblances between Persepolitan letters and those of the Zend, Pahlvi, Armenian and Gregorian alphabets. But that does not suffice. I have been altogether stopped short by the impossibility of deciphering the terminations of words, which in other respects, were very easy to recognise, because the same words recur with different reflexions, sometimes also with two or three different letters in the beginning. This is, why I request you to be good enough to communicate to me an extract of your Zend Grammar, which, by giving me the declinations and conjugations of the language will place me in a position to apply them to these unknown characters and to make a second attempt to decipher some. I can then hope to make more successful progress, and, perhaps, also to open the ways on which one can succeed, in his time, to unravel the contents of these precious monuments of the religion of the Persians.

This is, Sir, the favour which I venture to ask of you. If you will be able to grant it, count, I pray you, upon my very sincere obligations. I am entirely at your command in the matter of all literary errands (or orders) with which you will be pleased to honour me in our country. Citizen or freeman Gregory will send you a copy of my Memoirs on the Persepolitan Inscriptions which I will take care to send to him with the first voyager who starts from here for France. I request you to accept it as a token of respect which I have vowed to you since my youth. Be good enough to accept my assurances.

FREDERIC MUNSTER,

Professor of the University of Copenhagen and Member of the Danish Academy of Sciences.

The freeman Gregoire seems to be Henry Gregorie (1750-1831), who was a bishop of France. He was chosen one of the deputies of the clergy at the election of the States General in 1789.[1]

Notes on Elephanta.

I will finish this paper with a few Notes on an Extract on a piece of paper about Elephanta. There is a piece of paper attached to the first page of the second folio (marked XIII) which is of local importance to

1 Beeton's Dictionary of Geography and Biography.

us. It refers to our famous Elephanta caves. Anquetil when he was living in Surat, had come down here in 1760 to see these caves. He did not go there via Bombay as travellers generally do now. A year before he came to Elephanta, he was under great obligations to the English who had helped him in his time of need, perhaps more than his own French people. But in July 1760, there happened an event at Surat which estranged him from the English.[1] So, he chose to visit the Elephanta caves, rather stealthily from the direction of Salsette which was then under the rule of the Mahrattas. He crossed the harbour side from Trombay in a boat which took him two hours to reach the island.[2] He has described his visit of the Elephanta caves in his volume of Preliminary discourse which forms the first volume of his Zend Avesta.

Now I give here the Note ([3]) of Anquetil and my translation :

"On écrit[4] de Bombaye que partie de l'une des trois figures colossales de la fameuse caverne de l'Elephant afin (?) écroulée sans qu'on sait pas comment. Cet evenement est d'autant plus donné que les Portugais derniers (?) maitre de cette isle et poussé par un zéle superstitieux entreprirement en vain de detruire ces statues même avec la canon. Le vaste cavité que les renferme et qui a été pratiqué dans un roc très dur, presente un temple souterrain de 80 à 90 pieds de long sur 40 de large, et supporte par deux rangées de colonnes placés à une égale distance entre elles.

"Au fond sont placés les trois colosses dont la surface(de fragnt de la il a face) de l'un comporte au moins cinq pieds de long ; quelques unes de peintures autour des corniches conservent

1 *Vide* for this event, my paper before this Society, on Anquetil Du Perron p. 44.

2 I may say here, that I had requested, last year, Mr. Carter, the Collector and Development Officer of the Salsette, to kindly determine the site of Anquetil's travels and to prepare an itinerary plan of his travels. I had the pleasure of visiting with him, a part of Anquetil's itinerary on the Coorla side from which he crossed over to Elephanta. I beg to draw the attention of members, interested not only in Anquetil's journey, but in the question of the past and present of the Salsette, to his paper on the subject, read before my Anthropological Society of Bombay. "Note on the Historical Geography of the Thana Konkan and of Salsette" and "Anquetil Du Perron in Salsette" (Your. Anth Sty. Vol, XIII No. 7, pp 15-29.)

3 The passage is an extract from an European periodical of his times Anquetil has copied it on a small piece of paper which is attached to the second folio. It is written in an awfully bad hand, and, had it not been for M. Levi, I would have probably given it up. I have taken the liberty of correcting M. Levi's reading here and there.

4 M. Levi reads this as " On ne vit."

encore leur premiere fraicheur, quoique vraisemblablement elles datent du même temps que la construction du temple. Le bas de cet edifice est generalment couvert d'eau sans qu'on ait pu parvenir à l'affranchir, et il est probable que l'écroulement arrive est provenu de celle circonstance. Ni les livres ni la tradition pas même des conjectures n'offrent de lumiere sur l'origin de ce merveilleux ouvrage. Il faut esperer que le comité etabli dans l'Inde sous les auspices du Gouvernment pour faire des recherches sur les antiquités de ce pays parviendra à obtenir quelques renseignements des Bramines du continent." Citoyen Prane ? No. 123. 26, ventose, lundi, 24 Fevr. (? cent.) p. 1 10 ventose.

Translation :—One writes from Bombay that a part of one of the three colossal figures of the famous cave of the island of Elephanta has fallen down without one knowing how. This event is rather surprising because the Portuguese (who were) the late masters of this island and (who were) impelled by a superstitious zeal, had attempted in vain to destroy these statues even with the cannon. The vast cavity, which contains them and which has been made in a very hard rock, holds an underground temple, 80 to 90 ft. in length, over 40 in breadth and (which is) supported by two rows of columns placed at equal distances between them. At the furthest end are placed the three columns, the surface of one of which permits at least five feet of length. Some of the paintings round the cornices still preserve their original freshness, although probably their date is the same (*i.e.*, as old) as that of the construction of the temple. The lower part of this edifice is generally covered with water without one being able to succeed to refresh himself, and it is probable, that the fall (of the column) which has happened has resulted from this circumstance. Neither books, nor tradition, nor also conjectures offer any light on the origin of this wonderful work. One must expect, that the Committee, appointed in India under the auspices of the Government to make researches about the antiquities of this country, will succeed to obtain some information from the Brahamins of the continent " (Citizen No. 123. 26 Ventose.[1] Monday 24th February ( ) p. 1. 10 ventose.

Now, in Anquetil's account of his visit to the Elephanta caves given in his first volume, we find the following reference to three figures in the caves :

1 Ventose is "the sixth month of the calendar of the first French Republic from February 19th or 20th to March 20th." Citoyen....seems to be the name of a journal in which Anquetil read the Note.

"A l'extrémité opposèe, (8)[1] sont trois figures d'hommes assis sur des sieges sépares et sur une même ligne ; celui du milieu a quatre bras et est entièrement nud : ils sont accompagnés de Gonès à tête d'éléphant. Ce grouppe est composé de huit figures de moyenne grandeur et mutilées. Celle du milieu qui est plus grande, parait avoir la main sur le sein d'une femme qui n'a plus de tête."[2]

Translation :—At the opposite extremity (8) are three figures of men sitting on separate seats and in the same line. That in the middle has four arms and is entirely naked. They are accompanied by Gonès (Ganesh) with the head of elephant. This group is composed of eight figures of moderate grandeur and mutilated. That in the middle, which is larger, appears to have the hand on the breast of a woman which has no more the head.

I think, that the "trois figures" in the above extract attached to the second volume are the "trois figures" referred to by Anquetil in his above account of his visit of the Elephanta caves. Thus, he took an interest in what was said in the Journal. He therefore copied, on a piece of paper, the extract and attached it to his volume. The three figures seem to be those which we generally taken to be those of Siva, Brahma and Vishnu.[3]

We gather the following facts from the above extract attached by Anquetil to his second volume :—1. One of the three colossal figures in the cave had fallen down at the end of the 18th century, in some year after 1771. 2. The Portuguese had, during their occupation of Bombay and the adjoining islands, attempted to destroy some of the statues in the caves with cannons[4] but with no complete success. 3. The writer thinks that the fall of one of the statues may be due to the moisture of underground water there. 4. Some pictures round the cornices preserved their original freshness at the time. 5. Neither books, nor tradition, nor conjectures could throw any light at that time upon the origin of the wonderful work of the cave. 6. The Government of Bombay, had, at that time, appointed a Committee to make researches about the antiquities of that part of the country, especially by means of inquiries from the Brahmins.

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1 This number refers to the figure in the plan of Elephanta on Pl. IV. p. cccxciv of vol. I.

2 Tome I, P. I., p. ccccxxii.

3 Rock-cut Temples of India by James Ferguson (1845) p. 55.

4 We must bear in mind that the canons of those days were not like those of our times. Again, out of those that were commonly used, only the smallest and lightest must have been used, because larger ones could not be carried across the harbour and over the hill.

One of these statements gives us the approximate date (about 1771) of the fall of one of the three colossal figures. Another statement tells us that our Government was encouraging antiquarian researches even in the end of the 18th century.

As to the statement, that the Portuguese had attempted to damage the figures in the cave, it seems, that the attempt was made about two hundred years before Anquetil's time. A writer, John Hinghen Van Linschoten, who wrote in 1579, alludes to some mischief at the hands of the Portuguese. He says : " It is thought that the Chinos (which are very ingenious workmen) did make it when they used to traffique in the countrie of India. These Pagodas and buildings are now whollie left, overgrowne, and spoyled since the Portugales had it under their subjections." [1]

Anquetil's own version of the damage to the statues, as given in his Zend-Avesta (Tome I Partie I p. 422 n. 1) surprizes us, as he says, that the Hindus themselves were to a certain extent responsible, though unwittingly, for some of the damage. He says :—Lorsque les Marates eurent repris Salcette, pour faire tomber le plâtre avec lequel les Portugais avoient masqué plusieurs figures, ils tirerent dans le Pagodes de Monpeser and d'Éléphante quelques coups de canon, qui firent sauter avec le plâtre une parti des bas-reliefs. Voyant l'effet de la canonade, ils la firent cesser et prirent le parti de dégager les figures en ôtant le plaster avec le marteaur.

Translation :—When the Marathas took Salsette, in order to remove the plaster with which the Portuguese had covered several figures, they took in the pagodas of Monpeser and Elephanta some pieces of cannon which made fall with the plaster a part of the bas-relief. Seeing the effect of the cannonade, they ceased and took the course of clearing the figures by removing the plaster with hammers.

According to this statement, both the Portuguese and the Hindus damaged the statues—the Portuguese wittingly and the Hindus unwittingly. The Portuguese, out of their improper zeal for their own religion and their dislike for another religion, covered up, the features of the statues, &c., by plasters. When the Mahrathas came to power, they, finding that the figures were covered up by plasters, and finding that the plasters could not be removed by ordinary methods began removing these by cannons. But finding, that this process further damaged the

[1] As quoted by Dr. Burgess, in his " Rock-cut Temples of Elephanta." Front page.

statues, they ceased doing so and attempted to remove the plasters carefully with hammer. Dr. Burgess says about the above statement of Anquetil that "he had perhaps jumbled his information."[1]

We read the following different accounts about the damage to the figures in Burgess's Rock-Cut Temples of Elephanta:— "12. De Couto mentions that in his time many of the sculptures had been broken' 'by the frolic of the soldiers of the fleet that visited the places' and adds—'what was spared by the soldiers, is so badly cared for, that it is grievous to see thus destroyed one of the most wonderful things in the world;' and from the way in which he speaks of its having been defaced in his own time, we may well infer that it had then only recently ceased to be used.[2] Linschoten visited it in 1579 and writes :—'These Pagodas and buildings are now whollie left overgrowne, and spoyled, since the Portugales had it under their subjection." Fryer, in 1673 says: it was 'Defaced by the Portugals who have this island also;' and Pyke in 1712 says: 'The Portuguese now fodder all their cattle there in the rainy seasons and to defend them from the violence of the monsoons: and lately one of their Fidalgos, to divert himself with the echo which is here most admirable, fired a great gun into it with several shots, which has broken some of the pillars.' Grose evidently found this later circumstance remembered, but materially exaggerated in his time: he says the figures 'had also continued in a tolerable state of preservation and wholeness considering the remoteness of their antiquity until the arrival of the Portuguese, who made themrselves masters of the place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry not suffering any idols but their own, they must have been at even some pains to maim them and defaced them, as they now remain, considering the hardness of the stone. It is said they even brought field pieces to the demolition of the images, which so greatly deserved to be spared for the unequal led curiosity of them".

1 The Rock temples of Elephanta or Ghârâpuri described and illustrated, by J. Burgess, M. R. A. S., F. R. G. S. p. 55.

2 Ibid.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF ZOROASTER.[1]

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Introduction.

There is as great a diversity of opinion among writers, ancient and modern, about the country of the birth of Zoroaster, as that about his age. Some place it in the East and some in the West. Even China in the furthest East and Syria and Europe in the West are mentioned as the countries of his birth. De Pastoret[2], says: " Je ne m'arrêterai point à prouver son existence .....Je ne sais comment il arrive que la postérité ignorent souvent où fut le berceau des hommes célèbres. On diroit que le hasard, en cachant les lieux qui les ont vu naître, a voulu s'unir à la raison, pour nous prouver que l'univers entier doit être regardé comme la patrie des Sages qui l'éclairent. Celle du législateur des Perses et mal connue. Son origine et l'époque de son existence même sont contestées.[3] .....Mais quelle fut sa patrie ? Ceux-ci la placent dans la Chine; ceux-la au sein de l'Europe ; d'autres en Syrie[4] (Hyde, Chap. 24 p. 315. Med jidi, Bundari, et plusieurs autres, historiens. Voyez aussi Hyde, p. 319, et les Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. 31, pag. 371)."[5]

Anquetil Du Perron said in 1761 : " Vingt endroits différens se disputent cette gloire. Si Zoroastre, par exemple, reparoissoit sur la terre, se reconnôitroit-il aux portraits que l' on a faits

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1 This paper formed the subject of a discourse, delivered at the K. R Cama Oriental Institute, on 20th August 1926, the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the death of Mr. K. R. Cama.

2 Zoroastre, Confucius et Mahomet, par M. De Pastoret. Soconde Edition (1788) p. 3. 3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid* p. 6.

5 Translation.—I will not wait to prove his existence . . . I do not know why it happens that posterity often forget (the name of the place) where the cradle of celebrated men was. One will say that chance, in concealing the (names of) places, which had seen them born, has rightly wished to unite to prove to us that the whole universe must be regarded as the country of the Sages who have instructed it. That (*i.e.* the place) of the legislator of the Persians is badly known. His origin and also the epoch of his existence are contested . . . . But where was his country ? These (*i.e.*, some) place it in China, those (*i.e.*, others) in the heart of Europe ; others in Syria.

de lui. Né moins de six cens ans avant Jesus-Christ, il serait assurément surpis de se voir renvoyé au-delà de la guerre de Troie. L'Adorateur du Tems sans bornes (l'Eternel), principe de tout ce qui existe, entendroit-il son nom, sous celui de Prêtre des Etoiles ? Issu du sang des Rois de Perse, et Mede de naissance, que diroit-il de se trouver relégué dans la Palestine au service des Esclaves de ses Peres ? Telles sont les métamorphoses que produit quelque fois l'Histoire ".[1] (Zend Avesta Tome 1, seconde partie, p. 5).

Anquetil does not give the names of the 20 places spoken of as the country of Zoroaster, but, we gather the following few names from different writers: (1) Bactria (Balkh). 2. Urumiah. 3. Shiz and 4. Raê (in Media). 5. Pars or Persia proper. 6. Palestine, where he is associated with Jeremiah.[2] 7. Europe.[3] 8. Egypt.[4] 9. Assyria (Assur). 10. Istakhar (Mount Nepasht).[5] 11. Chaldæa. 12 Babylon. 13. Syria. 14. China. 15. Pamphylia (in Asia Minor). 16 Proconnessus (an island of the Propontis) [6]. (17.) To the above list, I will add, on the authority of a recent Persian book, named Farâzastân (p. 234 l. 5), of which I will speak later on in detail, Naosari in Gujarat, a province of India, as the 17th place claiming the glory of being Zoroaster's birthplace.

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1 Translation.—Twenty different places claim this honour (of being the birth-place of Zoroaster). If Zoroaster, for example, were to reappear on the earth, will he recognize himself among the portraits which they have drawn of him ? Born, less than six hundred years before Jesus Christ, he shall assuredly be surprized to see himself put back before the Trojan war. The Adorator of Time without limit (the Eternal), the principle of all that exists, will he hear his name as that of the Priest of Stars ? Descended from the blood of the kings of Persia and Media in (the matter of) birth, what will he say to find himself relegated to Palestine in the service of the slaves of his fore-fathers ? Such are the metamorphoses which History produces.

2 Tabari places him in Jerusalem. *Vide* below, the author quoted in the Sharastân-i Chehâr Chaman. Medjidi referred to by Hyde, Religionis Persarum, 2nd ed. of 1760, p. 315.

3 *Vide* M. De Pastoret, quoted above.

4 Shârastan-i Chehâr Chaman, Ms. of the Mulla Feroze Library (411 VIII 56, and Rehatsek's catalogue p. 204) folio 56b.

5 Baidawi referred to by Hyde 2nd ed. p. 317. This mount Nepasht is the Daz-i Napisht (Dinkard. *Vide* Zend Pahlavi Glossary, by Hoshangji, Introduction, p. XXXII) or *karitâ*-i Napesht (Virnâf-âmeh I, 7) of Pahlavi books. *Vide* my article in J. R. A. S., April 1918, p. 311. *Vide* Reference to this article in G. Le. Strange's Nuzhat-al Qulub of Hamdulla Mustawfi p. 190.

6 David Shea's History of the Early kings of Persia, translated from Mirkhond, p. 274.

Among Parsee writers, the work in Gujarati, entitled "Jarthosht-nâmeh," (*i.e.*, the Book of Zoroaster) by the late Mr. Kharshedji Rustomji Cama, is held, as a standard work on Zoroaster, based on the authority of the Avesta writings. Therein, the author says :—"એવી રીતે, આપણે મોટા પેગમબરની જનમભુમી વીશે, આગલા જમાનાથી લોકોમા શકછે, તે તદન ભાંજી નાખવાની હાલતમા આપણે હજુર આવેલા હોઇએ એવું લાગતું નથી."[1]

i.e., "Thus, there is a difference of opinion about the birth-place of this great Prophet among people, since olden times. It does not appear, that we have even now come to the position of removing that difference."

Among foreign *i.e.*, non-Parsee writers, the work of Prof. Jackson of America, is a standard work. He says :[2] "The question of Zoroaster's native place is a subject that has been much debated. The problem is more complicated because of the uncertainty which exists as to whether his birth place and early home was necessarily also the chief scene of the teacher's activity. . . . If we omit the question of his ministry for the moment and speak simply of his native place, we may say without much hesitation, that the consensus of scholarly opinion at this time is generally agreed in believing that Zoroaster arose in the west of Iran. Oriental tradition seems to be fairly correct in assigning, as his native land, the district of Atropatene or Âdarbaijân, to the west of Media, or even more precisely the neighbourhood about Lake Urumiah. There is ground, furthermore, for believing in the tradition which says that his father was a native of Âdarbaijân,—a region of naphtha wells and oil fountains,—and that Zoroaster's mother was from the Median Raghâ (Râi)."

Object of this Paper.

The object of this Paper is two-fold: (1) First of all, I want to speak on the whole question of the birth-place of Zoroaster. In doing so, in order to make my paper somewhat complete in itself, I will go over some ground already trodden over and go over some fresh ground as well. I will try to collect all the materials in this paper. (2) Then, I will specially draw the attention of my readers to the Pahlavi treatise of the Shatroihâ-i Airan, which has recently come to light. It was published for the first time in 1896 by the late Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocherjee Jamaspa-

[1] પેગામબર અશો જરથોશ્તના જનમારાનો એહવાલ (અવસ્તા ઉપરથી). બનાવનાર ખરશેદજી રૂશતમજી કામા. બીજી આવૃત્તિ (૧૮૯૦), પા. ૪૬.

[2] Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, by A. V. Williams Jackson (1899), p. 16.

sana.[1] I translated it for the first time in English and Gujarati with Notes and published my Translation in 1899. I will speak later on, at some length, on the subject of this treatise and my translation. In that Pahlavi treatise, a place named Âmûi (which name can also be read as Âmvi) is mentioned as being in Âzarbaizân and as the place of Zoroaster. Now, in my flying tour of Persia last year, I had the pleasure of visiting Âzarbaizân, its capital Urumiâh, and a village named Âmvi, which I beg to identify as the Âmûi or Âmvi of the Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân. It is this visit that has led me, on my return, to further study, and I beg to submit this paper as the result of that study.

Sources.

As to the materials to determine the question, we have, both our own, or what we may call, Iranian materials and foreign materials. Among the foreign writers, the principal are the Classical writers. In order to make my paper a little complete, though not perfectly complete, in itself, before coming to our Iranian books, I will briefly say a few words on the Classical writings.

II.

CLASSICAL AND MODERN WESTERN WRITERS.

Western Classical Writers on the Country of Zoroaster.

The very first question is, whether Zoroaster belonged to the East or to the West—to Balkh (Bactria) in the East or to Media in the West. Let us first examine this question from the materials supplied by Western Classical writers. Prof. A. V. W. Jackson has well-nigh exhaustively examined the materials supplied by these Classical writers. So, I will not dwell long over this branch of the subject but, thanking him, briefly sum up here the result of the materials collected by him.[2]

The following Classical writers speak of Bactria as the country of Zoroaster: 1 Cephalion (A. C. 120), 2 Theon (130),

[1] It is included in his Pahlavi Texts from p. 18 to p. 24. The Texts were published in two parts. The first part was published in 1896. The whole, with the second part, was published in 1913, with an Introduction by Mr. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria.

[2] Zoroaster the prophet of Ancient Iran. Appendix IV pp. 186-205. *Vide* also, the article (art. 9), headed "Stellen der Alten über Zoroastrisches (*i.e.*, Passages in olden writings on Zoroastrianism), by Fr. Windischmann, in his "Zoroastrische Studien" published by Fr. Spiegel in 1863 pp. 260-313. *Vide* the translation of this article by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, in his "Zarathushtra in the Gathas and in the Classics," pp. 65-141.

3 Justin[1] (120), 4 Arnobius, a native of Africa, who lived about 300 A.C. 5 Eusebius (264-340), 6 Epiphanius of Constantia (320-402), 7 Ammianus Marcellinus, who went with Emperor Julian to fight against the Persians (363 A.C.), 8 Paulus Orosius, who passed over from Spain to Africa in A.C. 413, 9 St. Augustine (354-430), 10 Isidorus, Bishop of Seville in Spain (570-636), 11 Hugo de Sancto Victore (1st half of 12th century).

The following Classical writers speak of Zoroaster as belonging to the West—to Media or Persia (Pars) : 1. The Elder Pliny[2] (A.C. 23-79), 2 Clemens Alexandrinus (200), 3 Origenes (185-254), 4 Diogenes Laertius (210), 5 Porphyrius (233-304), 6 Lactantius (300), 7 Greegory of Tours (538-593), 8 Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum (7th Century), 9 Georgius Syncellus (800), 10 Suidas[3] (970), 11 Michael Glycas (1150).

Prof. Jackson draws the following "estimate of the Classical allusions" : "The classical allusions on the subject of Zoroaster's nationality are rather contradictory and conflicting. They refer to Bactria on the one hand and to Media and Persia on the other. The allusions to Persia are doubtless to be taken in a broad and general sense. It will be noticed, moreover, that the direct place of birth is not necessarily implied in these national appelatives. In point of time, few of the classical passages are much older than the more direct Oriental allusions ; some of them are even later. They are of value chiefly for bringing out both sides of the question of eastern Iran and

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1 He is a historian of uncertain date, but of not later than 4th century ; perhaps 2nd century.

2 Pliny speaks of there being possibly two Zoroasters. He says : "Whether there was only one Zoroaster, or whether in later times there was a second person of that name, is a matter which still remains undecided." (Natural History, Bk. XXX Chap. 2. Bostock and Riley's Translation of 1856. Vol. V p. 422). Further on, while speaking of Professors of the art of magic, he names among others one "Zaratus of Media" (*Ibid*). Thus, we see, that Pliny himself speaks of one personage as Zoroaster and another as Zaratus of Media. It is of the first personage, Zoroaster, that he says that it was said that there were more personages than one of that name, and that he lived, according to Eudoxus, 6,000 years before Plato, and according to Hermippus, 5000 years before the Trojan war.

As to the word "magic", used above by Pliny, we must take the word, in the sense, as said by Webster, of "the science or practice of evoking spirits or educing the occult powers of nature, and performing things wonderful by their aid." Natural magic is "the art of employing the powers of nature to produce effects apparently supernatural."

3 This writer also thinks that there were two Zoroasters (Jackson's Zoroaster p. 190 j.)

western Iran, and they are of importance when checked by tradition or when used for throwing additional light on tradition."

Prof. Karl Geldner, in his article on Zoroaster, says: "The later Greek writers place him with almost one consent in the East of Iran and more particularly in Bactria."[2]

More than one Zoroaster according to some Classical writers.

Let us note here in passing, that as alluded to above, some of the Classical writers speak of there beeing more than one Zoroaster. As seen above, Plinsays so. Suidas (about A.D. 970) "assumes a second famous representative of the name, a Perso Median sage."[3] According to David Shea, the translator of Mirkhond's Rauzat-us-safa, six Zoroasters were counted up by Stanley. He says: "The profound Stanley, in his Lives of the Philosphers, reckons up six Zoroasters—the Chaldæan, or Assyrian; the Bactrian, contemporary with Ninus; the Persian or Medo-Persian; the Pamphylean; the Proconnesian, mentioned by Pliny; and the Babylonian, the master of Pythagoras, according to Apuleius. This learned critic remarks, that we must not be surprised if the name of Zoroaster, one of the benefactors of the human race, be given to those, who in after ages distinguished themselves in a similar career."[4]

Modern Writers.

I will close this section by giving here the views of a few of the modern writers who have specially written on the subject about Zoroaster's Birth-place.

1 Anquetil Du Perron, after saying, as said above, that about 20 places claim the honour of being the birth-place of Zoroaster; speaks of Urmi or Urumiâh as the birth place of Zoroaster. He says: "Cependent, malgré l'obscurité qui semble couvrir tout ce qui regarde Zoroastre, je crois avoir prouvé assez positivement dans le Mémoire dont j'ai parlé plus haut[5] que ce

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1 Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 191.

2 Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 820

3 Jackson's Zoroaster, p. 190.

4 "History of the Early kings of Persia, translated from the original Persian of Mirkhond, entitled the Rauzat-us-Safa," by David Shea (1832) p. 274.

5 Mémoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Tome XXXI p. 370 et suive.

Legislateur est né à Urmi, Ville de l'Aderbedjan; et ce fait explique les surnoms de Mede, de Perse, de Perso-Meade, que différens Auteurs lui ont donnés."[1]

(2) M. De Pastoret, who wrote in 1788, agrees with Anquetil's view. He says: Abulfeda, et M. Anquetil pensent qu'il étoit né dans la Perse, et c'est à Urmi qu'ils accordent la gloire de lui avoir donné le jour.[2] Leur opinion est la plus vraisemblable....On pourroit citer d'ailleurs un assez grand nombre d'écrivains, qui, en célébrant Zoroaster, ne le désignent jamais que par les surnoms de Perse ou de Perso-Mède."[3]

3. Sir John Malcolm speaks of him as a "native of Âzarbaijân" and says that "he was born at the town of Oormia."[4]

4. Sir Henry Rawlinson speaks of Âzarbaijân, and therein, of the mountain of Takht-i Suleiman or Shiz as Zoroaster's place.[5]

5. According to Sir H. Rawlinson,[6] another writer, who preceded him, also pointed to Âzarbaijân as Zoroaster's place. He quotes the writer to say: "The first appearance of Zoroaster seems to have been in Âzarbaijân; and the first fire-temple is said to have been erected at Xiz in Media."[7]

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1 Zend Avesta T. I, P. II pp. 5-6.

Translation.—However, notwithstanding the obscurity which seems to cover all which relate to Zoroaster, I believe to have proved sufficiently positively in the Memoir, of which I have spoken above, that this legislator was born at Urmi, a city of Aderbedjan; and this fact explains the surnames of Median, Persian and Perso-Median which different authors have given him.

2 Zend-Avesta, T. 1, part 2, p. 5. Mémoire de l'Acad. t. 31, p. 371. Abulfeda, t. 3 p. 58.

3 Zoroastre, Confucius et Mahomet, par M. De Pastoret (1788), p. 6.

Translation.—Abulfeda and M. Anquetil think that he was born in Persia and it is to Urmi (Urumiah) that they give the glory of having given him birth. Their opinion is very probable. One can cite, moreover, a number of writers who, on speaking of him, never designate him under any other surname than that of Persian and Perso-Median.

4 Malcolm's History of Persia, 2nd edition of 1829 vol. I p. 45 n. s.

5 Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana. Journal of the Geographical Society of London, Vol. X (1841) pp. 65-158.

6 *Ibid* p. 68.

"Modern Traveller, Persia and China Vol. I p. 59. (Probably from Texeira's History of Persia.)"

6. Haug says that "his home seems to have been in Bactria, which is called *Berekhdha ârmaiti* in the Gâthas, and *Bâkhdhi* (a corruption of the former) in the Vendîdâd."[1]

7. Harlez is uncertain and hesitating, but still he is inclined to take Media as his birth place. He says: La question pourrait se résoudre facilement si l'on osait affirmer que le pays qui parlait la langue de l'Avesta et pour lequel ce livre fut composé est necessairement celui où le fondateur du Mazdéisme vit le jour: on verra que ce pays était bien probablement la Médie. Mais la conclusion dépasserait les prémices. Il en serait de même si l'on prétendait que sa terre natale a dû être celle où il exerca son action."[2]

8. Dr. Mills says: "As to the further question, 'Who was Zarathushtra and when and where did he live'? diversity of opinion still prevails."..... Were the Gathas first sung in the East or the West of Iran? I would here say that I regard this point as especially open .....I think that the scene of the Gathic and original Zoroastrianism was the North-East of Iran.[3]

9. Prof. Jackson says: "Apparently he was born somewhere in Âzarbaijân. The places specially mentioned are Urumiâh, Shiz (Av. Chaêchista, probably anc. Urumiâh) and the river Darej."[4]

10. Dr. Moulton agrees with Prof. Jackson and says that "Zoroaster was born in Âzarbaijân in Western Irân, but there is at least a good case for supposing him to have preached in Bactria in Western Irân."[5]

11. Prof. Geldner says: "As to the birth place of Zoroaster, the Avesta is silent. In later tradition two places contended for this honour: the older and more widely spread story made him a native of Rai (Rhagæ) in Media, another of Shiz, the capital of Atropatene, also in Media. It is hard to decide whether both traditions rest merely upon priestly pretensions of a later date or whether one of them is not perhaps authentic."[6]

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1 Essays on the Parsees, 2nd Ed. of 1879, edited by West, p. 297.

2 Avesta. Introduction, p. XXIV.

3 S. B. E., Vol. XXXI, Introduction, pp. 22 and 27.

4 Zoroaster, Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 205.

5 Early Zoroastrianism, p. 83.

6 Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed. Vol. 24, p. 821, Col. 1.

12. Another writer in the same work in his article on Urumiah says that "according to an old tradition, Urmia was the birthplace of Zoroaster."[1]

13. A third writer in the same work, in his article on Âzerbijân, speaks of its town of Urumiah as "the supposed birthplace of Zoroaster."[2]

14. Ferdinand Justi[3] first refers to the Avesta passage which places Zoroaster on the banks of the Dareja in Airyana Vaejô. He then says that he was born at Raê (Ragha) and from there went to Âzerbaijân. He then refers to the authority of Abulfeda[4] who places him in Âzerbaijân.

15. Dr. Geiger, in his "Vaterland und Zeitalter der Avesta" (1884), points to East Iran as Zoroaster's country.[5]

16. Dr. Emil J. Von Dillon, points to Media as Zoroaster's country.[6] He produces several evidences to show that the Home of the Avesta was in the West, in Media. So, the home of Zoroaster, who wrote the Avesta, was also in Media.

17. Spiegel speaks of Media as the birthplace of Zoroaster.

18. Prof. Darmesteter speaks of Media as the traditional "native place of Zoroaster... Although epic legends place the cradle of Mazdean power in Bactria, at the court of King Vîshtâsp, Bactria was only the first conquest of Zoroaster, it was neither his native place, nor the cradle of his religion" (S. B. E. Vol IV Introduction III, 15 p. XLVII).

The writers of the volume of "the Persian Empire and the West" in "The Cambridge Ancient History series," write (1926 pp. 206-7): "He (Zoroaster) neither was born nor worked in Persia proper, the home of the Achaemenidae.....The scene of Zoroaster's activity was not Persia proper: it was Media, according to one theory, Bactria according to another; or it may have included both regions."

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1 *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 12, Col. 2.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 168.

3 Handbuch der Zend-sprache (1864), p. 122.

4 Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica, Arabice of E. Duobus edited by H. O. Fleischer (1831), p. 151. I refer, at some length, to this author, later on.

5 As referred to by Dr. Emil J. Von Dillon. *Vide* the translation of Dr. Dillon's article by Mr. T. A. Walsh, published by the Bombay Samachar Press in 1887, under the title of "The Home and Age of the Avesta," pp. 2-4.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 4-10.

III.

IRANIAN MATERIALS. VARIOUS SUCCESSIVE QUESTIONS BASED UPON THEM.

I will now proceed to examine the question of the Birthplace of Zoroaster on the authority of our Iranian materials. I will first refer to the ancient Iranian books *i.e.*, to the Avesta and Pahlavi books, and then I will refer to the later Iranian books of Mahomedan writers. While referring to the Avesta and Pahlavi books, I will proceed step by step to the consideration of questions suggested by the reply of each preceding question. The Questions and Replies are the following:

(A) Where was Zoroaster born? In the House of Pôurushaspa.

(B) The House of Pôurushaspa. Where was it situated? On the Banks of the Dareja river.

(C) The River Dareja. Where did it flow? It was an affluent of the Dâiti.

(D) The River Dâiti. Where did it flow? In Airyana Vaêja (Irân Vej).

(E) Airyana Vaêja. Where was it situated? In Âtarôpatakân.

(F) Âtarôpatakân. Where was it situated? It is the modern Âzerbaijân.

(G) Âtarôpatakân or Âzerbaijân. In which part of this country did Zoroaster's Birth take place? In the district of Mount Asnavant and lake Chaêchasta, the modern Urumiâh.

(H) Urumiâh. In which town of Urumiâh did Zoroaster's Birth take place? In the town Âmvi or Amui.

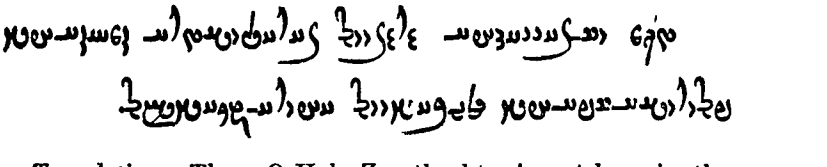
IV.

(A) WHERE WAS ZOROASTER BORN? IN THE HOUSE OF PÔURUSHASPA.

We have two direct references to the birthplace of Zoroaster in the Avesta, which say, that he was born in the house of Pôurushaspa.

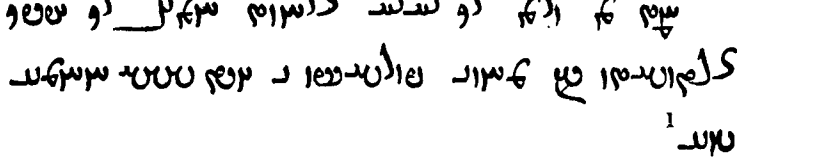
There is a conversation in the Haoma Yasht (Yaçna IX) between Zoroaster and Haoma, the founder of the ritual of the Haoma juice, who appears before Zoroaster as a handsome personage, in the morning, in the Hâvan gâh, when he (Zoroaster) was consecrating fire for a ritual (âtarem pairi-yaozdathentem, IX, 1) and reciting his Gathas. On Zoroaster's inquiring, as to who he was, the person declared himself to be Haoma, who was the discoverer of the Haoma plant and its ritual, and recommended Zoroaster to pound Haoma twigs and drink the juice, as other great benevolent philanthropic personages (Saoshyants) had done before him. Zoroaster paid homage to the person before him, and asked him, as to who the personages were that followed his ritual and drank Haoma juice, and as to what advantages they derived from the ritual and drink. Haoma named Vîvanghhvat, Âthwya, Thrita and Pôurushaspa as the personages who had drank Haoma juice with ritual and who had the consequent advantage of having born to them great personages like Yimô Khshaêta (Jamshed), Thraêtaona (Faridun), Urvâkhshaya and Kêrêsâspa (two brothers) and Zarathushtra. Here, Haoma who addresses Zoroaster speaks of him as born in the house of Pôurushaspa. He says (Yaçna Hâ IX, 13):

Direct References in the Avesta (a) Haoma Yasht.



Translation.—Thou, O Holy Zarathushtra ! wast born in the house of Pôurushaspa, as one opposed to the Daevas and as the follower of the way of Ahura.

The Pahlavi version of this passage runs thus :



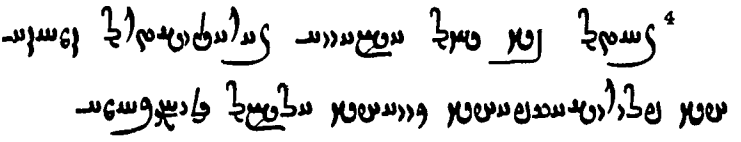
[1]

1 Ha 9, s. 43. Spiegel's Pahlavi Yaçna p. 73, ll. 2-4. *Vide* Dr. M. B. Davar's "Pahlavi version of Yasna IX (1904)" p. 20; Dr. J. M. Unwalla's Neryosangh's Sanskrit Version of the Hom Yasht (1924), p. 23.

Translation.—Then, from him, you, Holy Zarathushtra, were born in the house of Pôurushaspa, as one opposed to the Daevas (and) as the follower of the religion of Ahura Mazda.

(*b*) The Vendîdâd.

The next direct reference is in the 19th Chapter of the Vendîdâd. This chapter is spoken of as a brief Zarthusht-nâmeh [1] *i.e.*, the Book of (the life of) Zoroaster. Darmesteter speaks of it as "The Revelation" and as "the framework of the Vendîdâd." [2] In his French translation, he speaks of it as "Lutte et Revelation" *i.e.* "Contest (with Ahriman) and Revelation." [3] In this Avestaic Zarthusht-nâmeh, we have an account of Zoroaster's attempts to withstand the temptations of the Evil spirit and of his converse with the Higher Powers. Ahriman asked one of his host, a Druj, a demon named Bûiti, to smite Zarathushtra. Zarathushtra withstood the machinations of the Druj with his firm belief in the old Mazdayasnân religion and with the recital of prayers, before the waters of the good Dâiti river. He went forward to repell the attack with material and spiritual weapons. (s. 4). As to the material weapons, he went forward holding big stones in the hands (asânô zasta drazimnô katô-masanghô). His spiritual weapons were the sacred formulæ of the Ahunava which he recited and the liturgical services which he performed with the liturgical utensils of the *hâvanîm, tashta,* &c. In the end, when Âhriman and his associates found themselves unsuccessful in tempting Zarathushtra, they gave expression to their disappointment by saying (S. 46).



Translation—Alas! Holy Zarathushtra is born in the house of Pôurushaspa! How are we to obtain his death?

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1 "એક કુંકું જરથોસ્ત નામું". ખરશેદજી રૂસ્તમજી કામાનું જરથોસ્ત નામું, બીજી આવૃત્તિ, પા. ૩૫.

2 S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1st ed., p. 203.

3 "Ce Fargard est devenue célèbre sous le titre de "Récit de la Tentation de Zoroastre ..... Le véritable titre serait Lutte et Révélation : lutte de Ahriman contre Zoroastre qu'il essaye d'abord de touer, puis de séduire : révélation de la loi d'Ormazd à Zoroastre" (Zend Avesta Vol. IIà p. 256.)

4 The Pahlavi rendering runs : "Âigh Zarhûnt âhlôban zarthusht dayan mân-i Pôurushaspa". Spiegel's Vendîdâd p. 220. Dastur Dorabji's Pahl. Vend. p. 211. Dastur Hoshang's Vendidâd, p 643. Dastur Jamaspji's Text in Gujarati p. 136.

These two Avesta references directly point to the house of Pôurushaspa as the birth-place of Zoroaster.

Why a Special mention of Father's House?

Pôurushaspa was the father of Zoroaster. So one may very rightly think: "Why was there the necessity of saying, that Zoroaster was born in the house of his father? All children are born in the houses of their fathers." One answer to this question may be, that the phraseology is an ordinary one, meant simply to indicate family. But, a particular significance seems to have been meant. In the East, all children are not born in the houses of their fathers. Many of them, especially the first-born, are born in the houses of their mothers. Even now, that is the custom among Parsees in India. In the case of the first child, the mother generally goes to the house of her parents for delivery.[1] So, perhaps, the special mention of the house of Pôurushaspa was intended to signify, if the above was also the custom in olden times, that Zoroaster was born, not in the house of his mother as usual, but in the house of his father. He was the eldest son of his father. This is evident from the fact of his conversation with Haoma. Before his birth, Pôurushaspa had no children. He performed the ritual of Haoma and drank Haoma-juice and Zoroaster's birth was the result. So, as the eldest son, one may expect, if the above Parsee custom was an old Iranian custom, that Zoroaster should have been born in the house of his mother. But, we learn from the later Pahlavi books, that Dogdho, the mother of Zoroaster was much harassed even in her pregnancy, by the evil-minded people of her country. So, we may take it that this may be the reason why she delivered at the house of her husband and not at that of her parents.

An indirect reference in the Vendîdâd.

There is also a third reference, which, though it does not speak of the birth of Zoroaster in Pôurushaspa's house, speaks of the house where Zoroaster lived as a grown up man. It is that of the Vendîdâd (Chap. XIX, 4) where Zoroaster is spoken of as finding his weapons to oppose Ahriman in the house of Pôurushaspa. We read the following question and reply:

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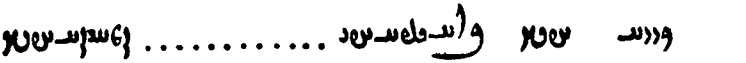
[1] The prevalent Parsee custom is, that not only does the mother, in the case of the first-born, give delivery in the house of the parents, but, it is expected that the parents of the mother are also to provide the whole or a part of the dowry of her first-born daughter.



i.e., Where did you get hold of these (weapons)?.....In the house of Pôurushaspa.

V.

(B) THE HOUSE OF PÔURUSHASPA. WHERE WAS IT SITUATED? ON THE BANKS OF THE DARÊJA.

The above two references directly point to the house of Pôurushaspa as the birth-place of Zoroaster. The third reference indirectly points to it as his home. But they do not say where the house of Pôurushaspa was situated. So, we will now examine this question. We will examine the question, (1) at first, on the authority of the Avesta, and (2) then, on that of the Pahlavi books.

(1) The Situation of the House of Pôurushaspa, according to the Avesta.

We do not find in the Avesta any direct reference to the situation of the house. But, we find two indirect references, which lead us to say, where, most probably, that house was. With the help of the direct statements of later Pahlavi writings, these Avestaic references, though indirect, are of great importance. Both these references occur in the above-said Avestaic Zarthusht-nameh (Vendîdâd Chap. XIX, 4 and 11). The first of these two (s. 4) localizes the house of Pôurushaspa, and the second localizes the place of his converse or consultation with Ahura Mazda and the Ameshâspentas. The place named in both these passages is the same, and the place of a Prophet's meditation and converse with the Higher Powers is generally expected to be near his home.

(*a*) The first reference, to which we have passingly referred above, is in reply to a question, arising from the temptation and opposition of the Evil powers. When they find Zoroaster opposing them, both with material and mental or spiritual weapons, they inquire about the weapons. In reply to the question, whence the above weapons were procured, we read (Vend. XIX, 4).

Translation.—Where, in this world, which is wide, round, far-extended, did you catch hold of these (weapons)?

(Reply) In the house of Pôurushaspa on the hill (or rising ground) above Darêja.

This reply points to the situation of Pôurushaspa's house (where Zoroaster was born), as being on the banks of a river named Darêja and on a rising ground of that river.

(*b*) The second reference is in an account of Zoroaster's consultation with Ahura Mazda and his Ameshâspands. When Âhriman offered him the temptation of temporal sovereignty, Zarathushtra declined it. Then Zarathushtra had a spiritual converse with Ahura Mazda in the presence of the Ameshâspentas, Vohumano, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra-Vairya and Spenta Ârmaiti, wherein he asked, as to how he was to save himself from the evils of Âhriman. Ahura Mazda replied, that he could do so by prayers and by observing righteousness, harmony, order &c., as seen in the grand Nature round about. We read the following about the place of the converse or consultation with Ahura Mazda (Vend. XIX, 11.)

Translation.—Zarathushtra asked Ahura Mazda..... when he was sitting[1], wisely meditating[2] on Ahura Mazda, Vohu-mano, Asha-vahishta, Khshathra-vairya, Spenta-ârmaiti, on the hill (or rising ground) above the Darêja.

The preceding passage pointed to the place where Zoroaster got the material and spiritual weapons to oppose Ahriman. This passage points to the place, where he had a consultation with Ahuramazda and the Ameshâspands, so as to be better prepared to oppose Âhriman. The place is named as Darêjya-paitizbarahê *i.e.*, the hill or the rising ground of (the river) Darêja. Thus, these two passages help us, to some extent, in determining, where the house of Pôurushaspa was situated.

Variation in translation.

I have given above, my translations of these passages; but, before proceeding, I must say here, that these two passages are differently translated by various translators.

(*a*) Anquetil Du Perron takes both the words to be common nouns. His translation is too free. He translates the sentence of the first passage thus: "Après avoir passé (comme) un pont qui s'étend au loin, il alla dans le lieu fort." Here, he translates the word "Darêja" as "au loin (*i.e.*, far off)[3] taking it to be the same as Pers. darâz (دراز). He translates 'zbara' as "lieu fort" (*i.e.*, strong place) and he seems to take the word to be Arabic jabr (جبر) strong.

(*b*) Spiegel and Haug also take the words to be common nouns. Spiegel[4] translates them as "in great strength."

(*c*) Haug[5] translates them as "incline to support (Pôurushaspa's house)."

Harlez and Darmesteter, Jackson, Justi and Windischmann have taken Dareja as a proper noun as the name of a river, and zbar as common noun.

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1 Áonghânô. âh, âs (आस) to sit.

2 Vohu-maidhê from *mad* to be wise; *madha*, wisdom.

3 Zend Avesta, Tome I, second partie, p. 413.

4 Bleek's translation Vol. I, Vendîdâd, p. 137. Spiegel says in a footnote p. 143 n. 3: "This verse is by no means clear."

5 Haug's Essays, 2nd ed. of 1878, p. 253. Haug seems to derive the word Dareja from dar (وردا) Sans. धर्, Guj. ધરવું to hold fast, to support, and the word zbar from zbar (زبر) Sans. हवर् to be crooked. Both are far-fetched meanings.

(*d*) Harlez translates: "Près du Dareja, au bord élevé."[1] *i.e.*, near Darêja on elevated bank.

(*e*) Darmesteter translates as "sur la haute rive de la Dareja"[2] *i.e.*, "over the high bank of the Darêja." In his English translation, he translates as "by the river Darêja, upon the mountains.[3]

(*f*) Jackson translates in one place, as "by the Darej, upon its high bank"[4] and in another, as "on the high bank of the Darej."[5]

(*g*) Justi also takes Darêja to be a proper noun and zbar (zbarangh) to be a common noun. He translates the sentence thus: "An dem (Fluss) Dareja (gelegnen) Berge, in der Wohnung des Pourushaçpa."[6] *i.e.*, on the (River) Darêja (situated in) the mountain in the house of Pôrûshaspa.

(*h*) Windischmann translates "Darejya paiti zbarahi" as "am Hügel der Darega" *i.e.*, "on the hillock of Darêja."[7] In another place, he translates these words as "Krümmung der Darégya"[8] *i.e.*, "the crookedness or curve of the Darêja."

(*i*) Ervad Framji Aspandiarji Rabadina[9] has taken both the words to be common nouns. In his translation, he has followed much the Pahlavi. So, his translation is not so clear as to enable us to say what he understood by these two words but it is clear that he took both the words to be common nouns. He translates the whole sentence thus: "તે હથયાર નોગરેહનું રાખ્તો એ જમીન ઉપર દરજને મારવાનું તેના સર ઉપર, કે જે પોહલું અને ગોલ અને દુર માર્ગનું (યાને જ્યાં દુર દરાજ સુધી દરજ્ને હોય ત્યા સુધી તેવોનાં સર તુટે એવું એજમતી મીનોઈ હથયાર) પોરોસસપનાં ઘરમાં હતું (તે હથયાર પોતાના હાથમાં રાખ્યું). It seems that he has

1 Avesta, Vendîdâd, p. 192.

2 Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II, p. 260.

3 S. B. E. Vol. IV, 1st ed. p. 205.

4 Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 194.

5 *Ibid*, l. 19

6 Handbuch der Zendsprache (1864) p. 177. *Vide* the word 'Paiti-zbaranh.'

7 "Zoroastrische Studien" (1863) p. 48.

8 *Ibid*. p. 54, l. 32.

વંદીદાદ, તેનો વાંચણ સાથનો ગુજરાતી તરજુમો, છપાવી પ્રગટ કરનાર, એરવદ જમશેદજી ફરામજી રબાડીના. ઈ. સ. ૧૮૦૦ પા. ૨૬૯-૨૭૦.

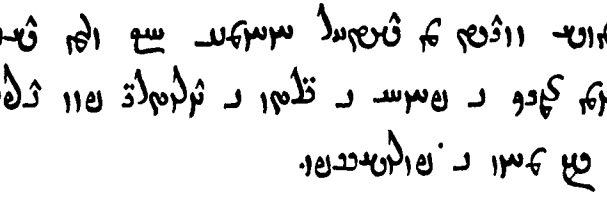
taken the word Dareja to be something like a word derived from dar 𐬛𐬁𐬙 Sans. ધર, Guj. ધરવું and the word zbar, to be Pers. jabr (جبر) strong and hence *ejmati* (એજમતી) *i. e.*, wonderful.

(*j*) K. R. Cama has translated the passage thus: "પોરૂશાસ્પના ઘેરમા કે જે જબર (નામના પાહાડમાંથી) દરેજય (નામની નદી વેહે છે તેને) કીનારે છે". [1] Here he takes both the words to be proper nouns.

(*k*) K. E. Kanga translates the sentence thus: "જબાર પાહાડની પેડાશમાં (આવેલી) દરેજ (નામની નદી) ની નજદીક પોરોશાસ્પના ઘેરમાં (તે હથિયારો મળ્યાં હતાં").[2] Thus, he also takes both the words to be proper nouns. He emphasises his meaning in a foot note by saying:

"આમ્બે ચોથા ફકરાના છેલ્લા ભાગ ઉપરથી આપણને પેગંબર જરતોશ્તના બાપ પોરોશાસ્પના ઘેરની ઈધાંની મળેછે તે એકે, તેનું ઘેર જબાર નામના પાહાડમાંથી વેહેતી દરેજ નામની નદીના કીનારા ઉપર આવેલું હતું." Then, he proceeds to say where the river Darêja was, as stated in the Bundehesh, but says nothing about, what he calls, the mountain Zabâr.

(*l*) The Pahlavi translator has translated the first of these two passages thus :[3]



1 પેગામબર અશો જરથોશ્તના જનમારાનો એહવાલ (અવસ્તા ઉપરથી). એરવદ તેહમુરસ દી. અંક્લેશરીઆવાળી બીજી આવૃત્તિ, સન ૧૮૯૦, પા. ૩૫.

2 વંદીદાદ, ત્રીજી આવૃત્તિ (૧૮૯૪) પા. ૩૦૩.

3 Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana's Vendîdâd, p.198, l. 9. *Vide* Spiegel's Pahlavi Vendîdâd p. 211, l. 7 et seq. Spiegel's text omits the word zamik (earth) by some mistake. *Vide* Pahlavi Vendîdâd (પહેલવી વંદીદાદ)) in Gujarâti characters by Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamaspasana (1908) Text p. 130, l. 17, Translation p. 165. *Vide* Dastur Hoshangji's Vendîdâd, p. 610 ll 7 et seq.

Translation:—Which (*i.e.*, the stones referred to in the preceding passage) he got from Dadar Oharmazd. He had got that from this earth which is wide, round and far extensive for passage, in the house of Pôrûshasp near Darzî Zabâr.

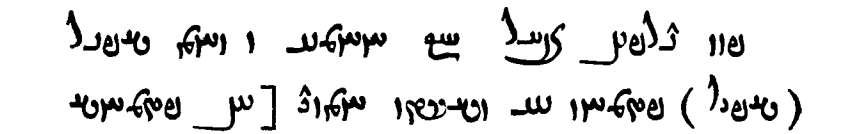
Haug has thus translated this passage of the Pahlavi Translation: "Who thus besought the creator Aûharmazd: Where is that kept on this wide, round, far-traversed (earth, which) is to be fixed on the roof in the dwelling of Pôrûshashp."[1] Here, Haug adds in a foot-note: "The words *darjik zbâr*, being merely a transcription of the Avesta, are translated in accordance with the meaning adopted in p. 333, note 4." This is a reference to his translation of the corresponding Avesta passage referred to above by me.

Dastur Jamaspji has translated this Pahlavi passage thus:

"જે દાદાર હોરમજદથી મેલવી હતી. કયાંથી તેને લીધી હતી, કે જે આખ્ખે જમીન, જે પોહોલી, ગોળ અને પાર નહી થઇ રાકે એવી છે તેની ઉપર "દરજી જબાર" ની નજદીક આવેલા પોરૂશાસ્પના ઘર મધેથી." (p. 165)

We thus see, that the Pahlavi translator has not translated the two Avesta words, Dareja and Zbar, but have simply repeated these names. So, he does not help us in any way.

The Pahlavi rendering of the second passage of the Vendîdâd (XIX, 11) runs thus[2].



[1] Haug's Essays,.2nd ed. of 1878, p. 380.

[2] Dastur Darab's Text of the Vendîdâd, p. 200. This edition has, preceding the above quotation, the usual Pahlavi rendering of the Avesta "peresat Zarathushtrô" &c. Perhaps, the editor seems to have added this from himself to fill up the gap. Spiegel (Vendîdâd Pahlavi p. 213, l. 4). Dastur Jamaspji (પહેલવી વંદીદાદ Pahlavi Vendîdâd in Gujarâti characters, p. 131) and Haug (Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., p. 382) have not this portion. Dastur Hoshangji's edition (p. 616, l. 3) also gives this addition. Haug adds in a note (n. 3): "The Pahlavi translator omits the usual opening invocation of the Creator." Again, Dastur Darab's Text repeats the word "shapîr." We do not find in any other edition, this repetition.

Translation—On Darji-zbar, where sat[1] Oharmazd and the good Vohuman, according to their grades. The grade consisted of this that next to Vohuman were Asha Vahishta and Shatrivar and Spendomad.

Dastur Jamaspji translates this passage thus (p. 167).

"'જબ્બર' પાહાડની આગલ 'દરજી' નામની નદીની નજદીક હોરમજદ અને ભલો બેહમન અંદાજસર ઉભેલા હતા. [અંદાજે તે જે કે બેહમન (હોરમજદની) પછવાડે હતો.] અરદી બેહેરાત, શેહરેવર અને સપંદારમદ (જે બધા પણ ઉભેલા હતા).

Haug renders the passage thus (p. 382) : "Through what is to be fixed on the roof where Aûharmazd (and) the good one [Vohuman] of good estimation are stationed (âhist), [this 'estimation' (stands) for Vohuman again] (with) Ashavahisht, Shatvér, (and) Spendarmad."[2]

Thus, we find from the Pahlavi rendering of this passage also that the translator has simply repeated the words Dareja and Zbara.

Zbara not a proper noun.

From the above passages of the Avesta Vendîdâd and their Pahlavi renderings, we see, that there is a variety of opinions about the two words—*Darèja* and *zbara*—as to whether they are proper nouns or common nouns. I agree with those scholars who take Dareja to be a proper noun and *zbara* to be a common noun. My principal reason for doing so is this : In the case of the word Dareja, we are in a position to identify it on the authority of the Pahlavi Bundehesh, and to say, that it is the name of a river, but we are not in a similar position in the case of the word '*zbara*,' if we take it to be a proper noun.

(*a*) If zbara were a proper noun, we would find its name in the list of mountains mentioned in the Zamyâd Yasht. But

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1 "Nashist" seems to be a correction by Dastur Darab (op. cit. p. 200). The word, as given by Spiegel (op. cit. p 213), Jamaspji (p. 131), and Haug (p. 382), is 𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀-𐬵𐬌 â-hist in the sense of standing. Of course, the original Avesta has âonghânô in the sense of 'sitting.' *Vide* above, my translation of the Avesta passag .

2 I think that Haug seems to have missed the point which the Pahlavi translator meant to convey, *viz.* that the Ameshâspands stood in the order of precedence according to their rank.

we do not find it there. The very fact of its name being associated with Zoroaster should have given it importance and a place in the list of Zamyâd Yasht (Yt. XIX).

(*b*) Again we have a long list of mountains in the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XII). There also, we do not find the name as that of a mountain.

The word forms a compound with *paiti*, as *paiti-zbara* [1] and is in the locative case with the name Dareja. So, it may form, as it were, an adjective of Dareja meaning something like the hilly Dareja. In that case, our translation may undergo a little change. But, under any circumstance, it is not a proper noun.

I think, that the word *zbara* is used in the sense of a mountain. As said above, Harlez and Darmesteter take the word in the sense of a mountain. The word seems to correspond with Pers. jabl. (جبل), pl. jabâl. It is significant, that according to Steingass,[2] Media (Persian Irâk) the country of Zoroaster is spoken of as "bilâdu' l-jabal." *i.e.* the country ot mountains. We will see later on, in Sec. XI that the Arab writer Sharastani also associates Zoroaster with a mountain in Âzarbaijân (جبل من جبل آذر بيجان). Cureton's Ed. of Sharastani p. 185. Haarbrücher's Translation p. 281.

Thus then, what we see from the Avesta is, that Zoroaster was born in the house of Pôurûshaspa and that the house of Pôurûshaspa was situated on a hill or rising ground on the river Darêja. Before proceeding to determine the place of the river, we will examine a few passages from the Pahlavi Bundehesh, which also speak of the house of Pôurûshaspa as the place where Zoroaster was born, and which also say that the house was on the river Darêja.

(2) The Situation of the House of Zoroaster, according to the Pahlavi Books.

Among the Pahlavi books, the one which refers directly to the birth-place of Zoroaster is the Bundehesh. In it, we find two references to the birth-place:

1 The Pahlavi Bundehesh.

(A) The Bundehesh has a special chapter on the subject of rivers under the title of "Chegunih-i rudhâ" *i.e.* "The Nature of Rivers" (Chap. XX). There, in a long list of rivers, we read

1 Cf. Paiti-ayangha, paiti-dâna.

2 Persian Dictionary, p. 355.

he name of a river as Dâraja (𐬛𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬌). As the name is written in Avesta characters there is no doubt about its reading. This Pahlavi Dâraja is the Avesta Darêja. After first naming the rivers, the writer proceeds to give a brief description of them. There we read the following about Dâraja :

𐬛𐬁𐬎𐬀𐬭𐬌 𐬀𐬵 𐬀𐬭𐬌

Justi in the Wörterbuch attached to his Bundehesh (p. 86) connects the word اِرَد with P. ی۷۷. In another passage of the Bundehesh (Chap. XXIV, Justi, p. 58), we have اِرَدسد ۱۱۷ in place of اِرَد ۱۱۷.

(*c*) West translates it thus : "The Dâraja river is in Aîrânvêj, on the bank (bâr) of which was the dwelling of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratusht." [1]

(*d*) Jackson translates it similarly "The Dâraja river is in Aîrân Vêj, on whose bank (bâr) was the abode of Pôrûshasp, the father of Zaratûsht.[2]

(*e*) K. R. Cama, quoting this passage, translates it thus :

"એ (દારજ) નામની નદી ઇરાન વેજમાં વેહે છે.....તેના મથાલાં આગલ જરથોસ્તના બાપ પોરૂશાસ્પનું ઘેર છે." [3](3) Here he takes the word 'bâr' for "માથાલાં" *i.e.* high place or bank.

(*f*) In my Gujarâti translation of the Bundehesh, I have translated it thus :

"દારજ કે ઇરાન વેજમાં છે, જેના કિનારા ઉપર જરથોશ્તના બાપ પોરૂશાસ્પનું ઘેર હતું." [4]. *i.e.* The Dâraj river is in Irân-vêjt on the banks of which was the house of Pôrûshaspa.

We find the word bâr (daryâ bar) in the sense of shore or bank in Minokherad (Chap. LXII, 33).[5] Its Sanskrit version gives the word as समुद्रतटे *i.e.*, the seashore. It is significant, that like the Iranian word *bâr*, its Sanskrit equivalen, *tat* also is used for both (*a*) "a slope, declivity, precipice;" and (*b*) "the shore or bank" (Apte, Sans.-Eng. Dictionary of 1890, p. 525).

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1 S. B. E., Vol. V, 1st ed., p. 82.

2 Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 193.

3 Gujarâti Zarthusht nameh, 2nd ed., p. 37, ll. 1-3.

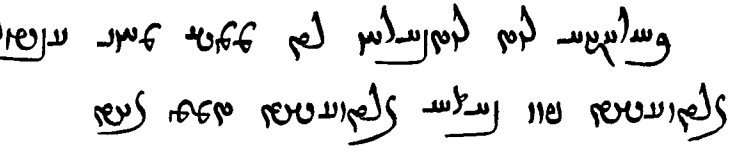
4 *Vide* my Transliteration and Translation in Gujârati of the Bundehesh, p. 97.

5 T. D. Anklesaria's Edition, p. 167, l. 2, Purshishna LXI, 33.

Windischmann thus translates the passage: Der Dâraǵa ist in Airanvic; auf seiner Höhe ist die Wohnung des Pursaçp des Vaters Zartust's. (Zoroastrische Studien, p. 98)., *i.e.*, The Daraja is in Airânvêj; on its height is the residence of Pursaçp, the father of Zartûsht.

This passage of the Bundehesh is very important. It is, as it were, a kind of paraphrase of the Avesta passage of the Vendîdâd. I have dwelt on it at some length, giving various translations, with a view to show that, notwithstanding some variations in its translation, it also helps us to see that, as said in the preceding section, the word *zbara* in the Avesta passage is not a proper noun. It is replaced here by the word bâr.

(B) The second reference to the river in the Bundehesh is in the chapter (Ch. XXIV, 15) which treats of the Chieftainship (radih) of men, animals and all other things. It is, as it were, a chapter on Vispa-rad, *i.e.*, on what are considered to be the chiefs (rata or rad) of particular classes. For example, it says that the white kharbiz is the chief (or the best) of all the goats. The white-haired, strong-kneed and two-shouldered camel is the chief of all camels. Similarly, we read the following in the case of rivers.[1]



Translation.—Dâraja river is the chief of all rivers, because it had on its height (*i.e.*, on its bank) the house of the father of Zarthûsht. Zarathûsht was born there.

This passage of the Bundehesh also determines, that the river Dâraja (Dareja) was the river of the birth-place of Zoroaster. Though small, it was held in veneration on account of the fact of Zoroaster's birth on it and was therefore taken to be the 'chief' of rivers.

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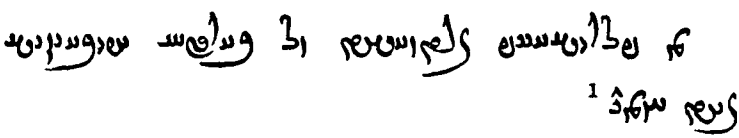
[1] Justi's Text, p. 58. ll. 5-7 ;West. S. B. E.. Vol. V, 1st ed., p. 89. Grand Bundehesh by T. D. Anklesaria, p. 121, l. 8. (Here, the word "rud" after Dâraja is omitted and in place of the word bâlâ we have bâr). Windischmann, Zoroastrisché Studien, p. 103, s. 15. Westergaard's ed., p. 58, l. 5. M. R. U vala's Ed., p. 69, l. 6.

(C) We have a reference to the birth-place of Zoroaster in another chapter (XXXII, 2) of the Bundehesh. We read there:



[1]

Translation.—From Pôrûshasp, Zartuhust was born on the Dargâ (Darejâ) of the good religion.

My translation requires a few words for justification as it differs from previous translations.

Justi, who has in his translation numbered this chapter as XXXIII (p. 45, l. 6), translates this passage thus: "Von Pourushaçpa wurde Zarathustra auf seinem Stammsitz Hidainis erzeugt," *i.e.* From Pourushaçpa was born Zarathushtra at his ancestral seat Hidainis. In his "Wörterbuch" (glossary), attached to his Bundehesh, for the word *dargâ* (دركا p. 139), he gives "Palast, Pforte," *i.e.*, palace, gate, and gives the modern Persian dargâh (درگاه) as its equivalent. As to Hadinash (هدينش p. 269, glossary, as transliterated by him), he says: "Name des Palastes des Pourushaçpa," *i.e.*, "the Name of a palace of Pourushaçpa." Under this word, he gives the translation of the sentence as "Von Pourushaçpa wurde Zarathustra in Palast Hidainis erzeugt," *i.e.*, From Pourusaçpa, Zarathushtra was born in the palace of Hidainis. Thus, he takes Pôrûshaspa to be the possessor of a palace named Hidaini which he takes to be the place where Zoroaster was born.

Windischmann translates thus: "Von Porusaçp, wurde Zartust an dem Sitz des Darǵaflusses erzeugt" (Zoroastrische Studien, p. 119), *i.e.*, From Porusaçp was born Zartusht on a seat of the river Darga. Windischmann thus speaks about the word which he reads *hidainis*: "Hidainis ist wahrscheinlich ein Zendawort, was ich auf *hidhaiti* (Yasht Fr., II, 2): sitzen' Zurückführe; es bedeutet daher wohl einen Wohnsitz (Ibid, p. 160), *i.e.*, Hidainis is probably a Zend word which I derive

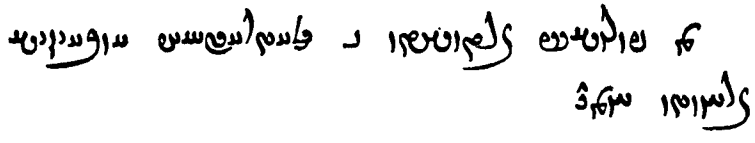
[1] Justi's Bundehesh, p. 79, l. 10. Grand Bundehesh by T. D. Anklesaria, p. 235, ll. 3-4. Westergaard's Ed., p. 79, l. 9. M. R. Unwala's lithographed edition of Westergaard's Text, p. 92, l. 10. Windischmann p. 119, (Chap. 33).

from (lit. take back to) hidhait, seat; hence it may well indicate 'residence.'

Dr. West translates it thus: "By Pôrûshasp was Zaratûsht begotten for a sanctuary of good religion."[1] About the two words "dargâ hidainish", he says: "the Pâzand words *dargâ hidainish* appear to be merely a misreading of Pahl. *dargâs-i Hûdînôîh*". So, he has followed Justi and taken this word *dargâ* to be Pers. *dargâh*.

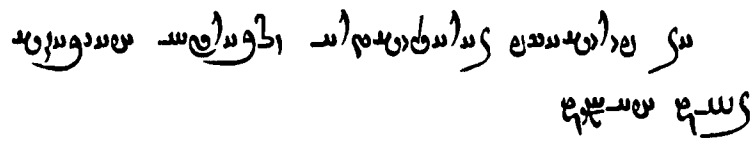
In the edition of Westergaard,[2] the text of this sentence is the same as that of Justi.

In the Grand Bundehesh, we find the sentence thus: (Ervad Tehmuras's ed., p. 235, l. 3):



So, we see that here, the two separate *val* and *daragâ*, have been joined together, and the next word is given as "andainish" The last letter *h* at the end of the word vataragâh, seems to help Justi and West, who have taken the word to be the same as *dargâh*.

The Pazend Bundehesh[3] gives the sentence as follows:



Here, the two Pahlavi words "val Daraga" are combined into one as Nodargâ, and the next word read as Haidansh.

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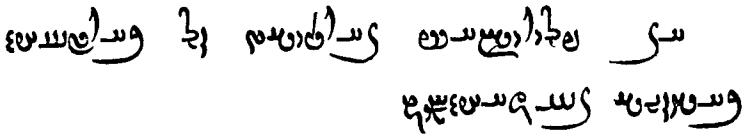
[1] S. B. E., Vol. V. (1880), p. 141.

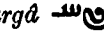
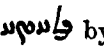
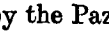
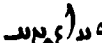
[2] Westergaard's Ed., p. 79, l. 9; M. R. Unwala's lithographed edition of Westergaard's Text, p. 92, l. 10, has miswritten the word as Hadainish.

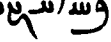
[3] Edalji K. Antia's Ed., Chap. XXV, p. 57, l. 5.

The Persian Rivayet of Darab Hormuzyâr, while giving the genealogy (kursi) of Zoroaster, gives this passage as follows in Avesta characters.[1]



It is difficult to know how the writer has understood the words nô dargah-i-daênish.

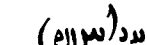
I think, that the word, given as *dargâ*  by Justi and Westergaard, as (va)dargâh  by the Grand Bundehesh, and (nô) dargâ by the Pazend Bundehesh, is a corrupted form of the word dareja  written in the previous part of the Bundehesh as  . The Grand Bundehesh and the Pazend Bundehesh have joined the preceding particle val with it. Windischmann seems to have taken the word correctly.

As to the second word, *hidainish*, as given by Justi, it seems to be *hudaêna*  *i.e.*, of good religion. It is applied as an epithet to the river Dareja, perhaps, because Zoroaster, the promulgator of the good religion was born on its banks.

Thus, we see that this passage of the Bundehesh also refers to the Dareja river as the place of the house of the birth of Zoroaster.

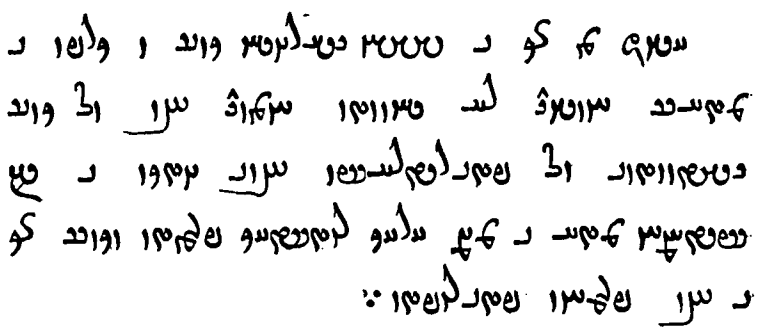
In my Gujarâti Transliteration and Translation of the Bundehesh (p. 176), published in 1901, I have referred in a

[1] Dorab Hormuzyâr's Rivayet by Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala, with my Introduction, vol. II, p. 44, ll. 4-5.

footnote to this point. I said (I translate from my Gujarâti): "I think this to be a corrupted form of the Daraja (of Chap. XX), on the shore of which Zoroaster was born. In another footnote I have suggested that the word *hudanish*, written with different variations, may be a corrupted form of Airan-Vej () which word occurs with Dareja in Chap. XX.

Pôrûshasp's father's house referred to in the Dinkârd.

In the Dînkard (Bk. VII), we find a reference to the house of Paitiraspa, the father of Pôrûshasp. We read there: [1]



Translation.—Then on account of (the fact) that they were not happy (khursand lâ yehvûnt) owing to the troubles (sârinashn [2]) from the demons and from the Kavis and the Karaps of the district (matâ), the father ordered the girl to go (satuntan) to Patiritasp, the father of the family,[3] who (was) in the town of the Spitamas which was a village on (the river) Arak; and the girl accepted the order of (her) father.

Thus what we gather from the Avesta and Pahlavi passages examined in this section is this:—The House of Pôurûshaspa, where Zoroaster was born, was situated on some high ground on the banks of a river, named Darêja.

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[1] Dastur Darab's Ed., vol. XIII, p. 23, l. 4 of the Text of Book VII, p. 21 of Translation, Chap. I, 9. West, S. B. E., vol. XLVII, pp. 19-20, Chap. II, 9. D. M. Madon's Ed., vol. II, p. 602, ll. 13-16.

[2] Pers. سار trouble, affliction.

[3] P. دود family, tribe, people.

VI.

(C) RIVER DAREJA. WHERE DID IT FLOW? IT WAS AN AFFLUENT OF THE DÂITI.

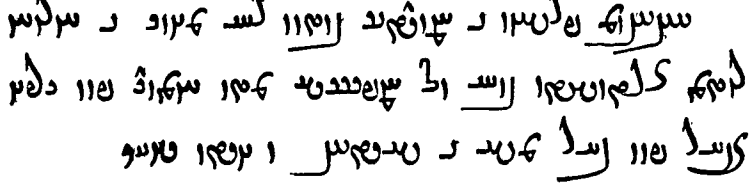
Now, having determined, both from the Avesta and the Pahlavi books, that Zoroaster was born in the house of his father Pôrûshaspa on the bank of the river Darêja, we will proceed to determine where Darêja was situated. The Pahlavi books help us to determine its situation.

1. The Bundehesh.

The Bundehesh (Chap. XX, 32) says of the Darêja, that it was situated in Aîrân-Vêj. The very passage quoted in the preceding section (p.22) says so. There, we read, "Dâraja rûd pavan Aîrân-Vej", *i.e.*, "The river Dâraja is (situated) in Airân-Vêj". I have examined the passage at some length, while speaking of the house of Pôrûshaspa; so I will say nothing further about it here.

2. The Zâdsparam.

The Pahlavi Zâdsparam also helps us in determining the situation of the river Darêja. It says that Darêja was a branch of a larger river, the Dâitî. In this book, we have a chapter on the seven questionings (haft prashnôih) or conferences which Zoroaster had with the seven Ameshâspentas, as referred to in the Dînkard.[1] There, in the narration of the seventh meeting with the seventh Ameshâspand Amardâd, we read [2]:



Translation.—For the holding of the seventh inquiry in relation to Amerdâd, the Spirit of the trees (*i.e.*, the Vegetable

[1] Dînkard, Bk. VIII, Chap. XIV, 5, 6, 7; S. B. E., vol. XXXVII, p. 32; Chap. XIII of Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Dinkard, vol. XV, p. 32; D. M. Madon's Ed., vol II, p. 691.

[2] Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Text, p. 88, Chap. XXIII, 7; West's Chap. XXII, 12 (S. B. E., vol. XLVII, p.162).

creation) accompanied Zartusht to a conference[1], on Darêja's rising ground (Darajin zbar) on a branch (bâr) of the water of the Dâiti and other places.[2]

This passage is important, as it points to some connection of the river Darêja with another river, Dâitik, with which the name of Zoroaster is associated. We will see, later on, that the river Dâitî was in Airân-Vêj. So, the river Darêja, which is a branch of it, and on which stood the house of Pôrûshaspa, where Zoroaster was born, was also in Airân-Vêj.

Thus, these two Pahlavi books, the Bundehesh and the Zâdsparam, say, that the river Darêja was in Airân-Vêj. The Bundehesh directly says so. The Zâdsparam indirectly says so. But the indirect reference of the Zadsparam is important in one other matter, viz., that it points to the Darêja being a tributary or affluent of the Dâitî.

VII

(D) THE RIVER DÂITÎ. WHERE DID IT FLOW? IN AIRÂN-VÊJ.

We saw above, in the preceding section, that the river Darêja is spoken of as connected with a larger river Dâitî. So, we will now examine briefly, what is said about this river Dâitî in Parsee books. We will see, what is said of it, first, in (A) the Avesta, and then, (B) in the Pahlavi books.

(A) RIVER DÂITÎ IN THE AVESTA.

The river Dâitî is spoken of in the Avesta as Vanghu Dâitî, *i.e.* the good Dâitî. Similarly, in the Pahlavi, it is spoken of as Veh Dâitî or Shapîr Dâitî, "veh" being the Pahlavi Aryan rendering, and "Shapir" the semetic equivalent of Vanghu. We find the name in the following places in the Avesta :—

(*a*) Vendîdâd I, 3, where Airân-vêj is spoken of as the country of the good Dâitî

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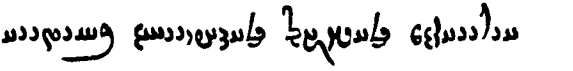
1 Ham-pûsagih for Hampûrsagih as given in a footnote of the Text.

2 West (S. B. E., XLVII, p. 162, Chap. XXII, 12) translates : "For the occurrence of the seventh questioning, which is Amûrdad's, the spirits of plants have come out with Zaratûsht to a conference on the precipitous bank of the Dareja, on the bank (bâr) of the water of Dâitîh, and different places."



(*b*) Vend. II, 21, where both, Ahura Mazda and Yima Khshaeta (Jamshed), are spoken of as known in the Airân-Vêj of the good Dâitî (Srûtô Airyênê Vaêjahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).

(*c*) Vend. XIX, 2, where Zarathushtra is represented as doing homage to the good waters of the good Dâitî (âpô vanghuhîsh frâyazaêta vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).

(*d*) Ormazd Yasht (Yt. I, 21), where the worshipper pays his homage, among others, to the Kayânian glory, to the country of Aeryana Vaêja and to the waters of the Dâitî (nemem kavaêm kharenô, nemô Airyênê Vaêjahi . . . . . nemô aipi Dâityayâo).

(*e*) Âbân Yasht (Yt. V, 17), where Ahura Mazda is represented as paying homage to Ardviçura in the *Airyana Vaêja* of the good *Dâitî*. (Tâm yazata yô dadhvâo Ahurô Mazdâo Airyênê Vaêjahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).

(*f*) Âbân Yasht (Yt. V, 104), where Zarathushtra pays a similar homage to Ardviçura in the Airân Vej of the good Dâitî.

(*g*) Âbân Yasht (Yt. V, 112), where Zarir is represented as paying homage to Ardviçura on the other side of the good Dâiti (pasnê âpô Dâityayâo).

(*h*) Gosh Yasht (Yt. IX, 29), where king Vishtâsp is represented as paying homage to Dravâsp on the other side of the good Dâiti (pasnê âpô Dâityayâo.)

(*i*) Ram Yasht (Yt. XV, 2), where Ahura Mazda is represented as paying homage to Râm Khâstra in the country of Airyana Vaêja of the good Dâiti (Airyênê Vaêjahi Vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).

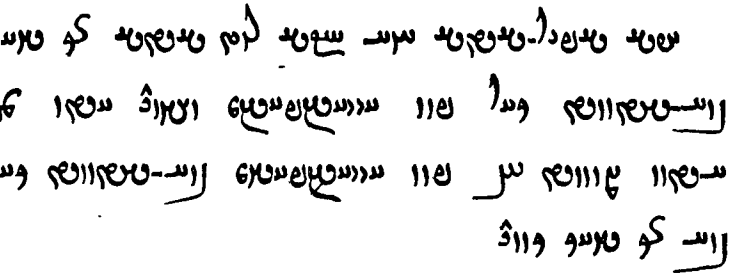
We find from these Avesta passages that, wherever Airyana Vaêja is mentioned as the place of worship, there, the name of the river Dâitî is also mentioned. Airyana Vaêja is spoken of as the country of the good river Dâitî.

(B) DÂITÎ IN PAHLAVI BOOKS.

In the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, the name of the river Dâitî occurs three times.

1. The Vendîdâd.

(*a*) We read of Airân-Vej, in the very first chapter of the Pahlavi Vendîdâd, as being the very first of the countries mentioned there and as the country of the good Dâitî. (Shapir Dâiti. Pahl. Vend. I, 3). The passage speaks of this Dâiti as a river. We read: [1]



Translation.—It (is called) good Dâitî, because the river Dâitî flows in that place (and) they do tillage (there) by *avaêpaêm*.[2] There are some who say thus: that (water) comes by *avaêpaêm* and they do cultivation (kâr) in that place.

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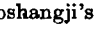
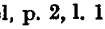
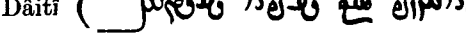
1 Dastur Hoshangji's Vendîdâd p. 4, l. 6 f; Dastur Darab's Text, p. 2, l. 12 ff. Spiegel, p. 2, l. 12. Nowroji Manockji Kanga's Pahlavi Vendîdâd (1900), p. 12. Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarâti Pahlavi Vendîdâd, p. 1.

2 This word is written in Avesta characters (). Dastur Hoshang thinks that, perhaps, it may be for  . He puts a mark of interrogation to express his doubt. He then adds:—It is "traditionally explained as 'a subterranean canal of water' or 'a reservoir of water.' In this case its latter part must be either *aepem*, *apem* or *âpem*. It is evident from the word being not written in Pahl. characters, that either there was no Pahl. equivalent of it or the translator did not know it. It seems to me that the word simply means 'a fall of water', 'a source of water' or a 'sangam' (संगम) *i.e.*, confluence of two or more rivers, as is clear from the contents of the Pahl. Comm. to I, 3 (Vendîdâd Glossarial Index, pp. 41-42)." I think that the traditional meaning of "a subterranean canal" or "a reservoir of water" is correct. The word may be derived from Av. ava ( ) below and ap ( ) water. Thus it means "subterranean water." Dastur Jamaspji translates thus:

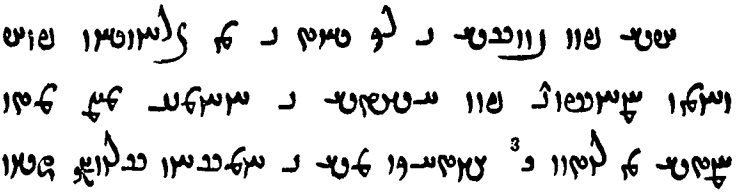
Here, it is explained, that the river is spoken of as good, because it helps the cultivation of Airân-vêj.

(*b*) The next reference is in the second chapter (II, 21) where the famous (nâmik) Airân-Vej is twice spoken of as the country of the good Dâitî () and is associated with king Jamshed and his colony (var). (Dastur Darabji's Pahl. Vend. p. 18 l. 13). King Jamshed had there a converse with Ahura Mazda.

(*c*) The third reference is in the 19th chapter of the Vendîdâd (XIX, 2), where also we read of Airân-Vêj, being the country of the river Dâitî. Here, it is associated with Zoroaster, who is spoken of as having paid homage to the good waters of the good Dâitî (avash maya[1]-i shapir farâz yazbahunît mûn shapir Dâitî) and as declaring the Mazdayasnân religion.

2. The Dinkârd. There are several references to the river in the Dinkârd.

(*a*) Zoroaster in his 30th year, had a conference with Ahura Mazda through Vohumano on the banks of the river Dâitî. We read.[2] (Bk. VII).



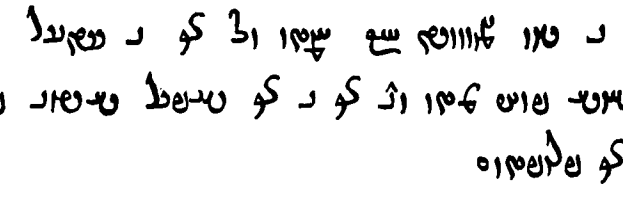
"વેહેદાઈતીની મતલબ એકે 'દાએતી' નામની નદી ને ઈરાન વેજની જગાએ આવેલી છે કે જેથી તેઓ કારનજ (નેહેર) ની મારફતે અથવા બેદેહેશત પણાથી ખેતી કરેછે. વળી એમબી કહેવાયલું છે કે એ કારનજ (નેહેર) થી (પાણી) આવેછે કે જેથી ને જગાએ ખેતી કરે છે." (Pahlavi Vendîdâd in Gujarâti p. 2.)

We find from this Gujarâti translation of the Pahlavi rendering, that Dastur Jamaspji has given the word "કારંજ" "fountain" for "avaêpaêm."

1 Dastur Darabji gives the word as which seems to be a mistake (Pahlavi Vendîdâd, p. 197).

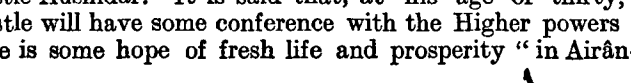
2 Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, p. 63, Bk. VII, Chap. II, 51-52, West. S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 47, Chap. III, 51-52. D. M. Madon's Dinkârd, Vol. II, p. 624, l. 3, et seq.

3 I have taken this word as given in the foot-note 4 of p. 63 of Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII.



Translation.—On the completion (bûndagîh) of thirty years from (his) birth, Vohûmanô, the Ameshâspand, came for concord (âshtih) of (*i.e.*, to meet) Ahura Mazda, when he (Zarathushtra) was drawing water for Hom-ritual (Homigân) from the single-flowing (aevatâk, *i.e.*, the main) river as is mentioned in Religion thus: When he (Zarathushtra) arrived at the third affluent (tachashneh) upto that which is the good Dâitî, he went forward.

(*b*) We also find a reference to the river, in the next chapter (Bk. VIII, Chap. III, 29), as a river whence Zoroaster fetched water for the Haoma ceremony. Its water with the proper ritual is said to give healthfulness (Bishâzashnih min maya-i homigân Zarâthusht min rud-i Dâitî....)[1]

(*c*) The next reference in the Dinkârd (Bk. VII, Chap. VIII, 60) points to the situation of the river Dâitî as being in Aîrân-vêj. The 88th chapter of the 7th book speaks of the coming to an end of the millenium of Zoroaster on account of the apostle Aushidar. It is said that, at his age of thirty, the apostle will have some conference with the Higher powers and there is some hope of fresh life and prosperity "in Airân-vêj. where the good Dâitî is situated".  [2]

(*d*) The next reference is in Bk. VII, Chap. IX, 23. It is similar to the preceding, and points to Airân-vêj as the country in which the Dâitî runs (Airân-vêj âigh shapîr Dâitî).[3]

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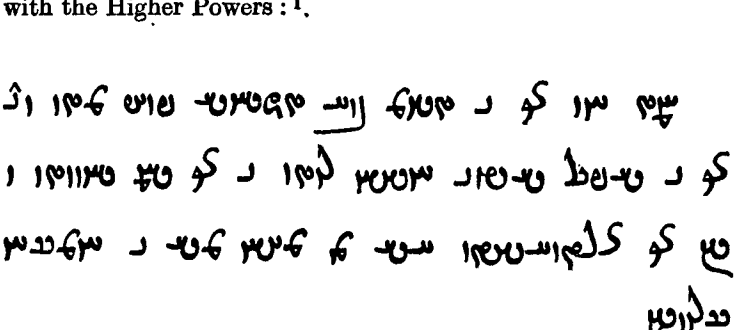
[1] Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIV, p. 11, Bk. VII, Chap. III, 29. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, Chap. IV, 29, p. 57. D.M. Madon's Ed., Vol. II, p. 631, l. 10.

[2] Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIV, p. 83. Bk. VII, Chap. VII, 60. West, S. B. E., XLVII, p. 107, Chap. VIII. D. M. Madon's Ed., Vol. II, p. 668, l. 2.

[3] Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIV, p. 91, Chap. VIII, 23. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 112, Chap. IX, 23. D. M. Madon's Ed., II, p 672, l. 1.

(e) Dâitî. Its affluent Arikhshân.

There is another reference in the Dinkârd which, I think, is important. The river Dâitî is differently identified. Some identify it with Zarafshan and some with the Araxes. We read thus in the Dinkârd, about Zoroaster's conference with the Higher Powers : [1].



Translation.—When he (Zarathushtra) came to the fourth affluent (tashum tachashnih), up to the good Dâitî,—Arikhshan river which was the name of it,—and Zartuhsht was drawing, from its midst, water for Haoma ritual.

Dastur Darabji says in the foot-note (Vol. XIII, Translation, p. 55, n. 1) : "The Dâityâ river is generally identified with the river Araxes, the river Arikhshân here mentioned." The name can very easily be read Aushân. In that case can it be the Anshan referred to by Cyrus as his and his ancestor's place (Encyl. Br., 9th ed., Vol. 18, p. 565, Persia) ?

(3) The Bundehesh.

There are three references to the Dâitî in the Bundehesh. Two occur in the special chapter on the nature of the rivers (Chap. XX, 7, 13).

(*a*) The first reference (s. 7) simply includes it in the list of rivers. (*b*) The second reference (s. 13) tells us, where it is situated, and gives some particulars. We read (Chap. XX, 13):

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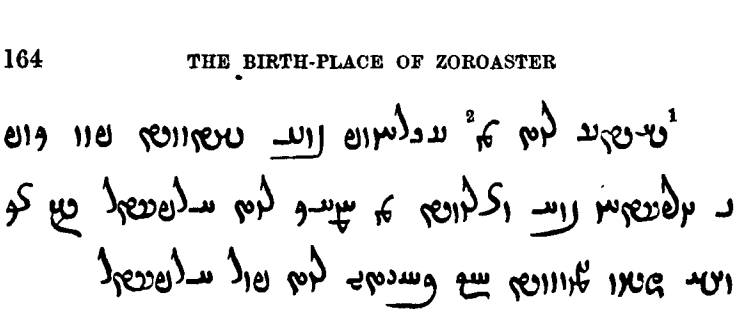
[1] Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Bk. VII, Vol. XIII, p. 64, Chap. II, 54. West reads the name of the river as Aûshân (S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 48, Bk. III, Chap. III, 54). D. M. Madon's Ed., Vol. II, 9, p. 624, l. 19.



Translation.—The Dâitî river flows in Irân-vêj. (It) comes out from the mountain of Gurjastân. Of all rivers, the *kharfastars* (*i. e.* noxious creatures) (abound) in this the most, as, it is said that "Dâtî is full of Kharfastars."

(*c*) Then in its chapter of chieftainship (radih) (Ch. XXIV, 14), the Bundehesh speaks of the Dâitî as the chief of running waters. (Dâitî rud tachakân [3] rad).[4] The Darɛja, as seen above, owed its superiority or chieftainship to its being the river on which the house of Zoroaster was situated, but this Dâitik is taken to be superior among rivers for its swiftness of flow.

(4) Zâdsparam.

There are several references to the river in the Pahlavi Zâdsparam: (*a*) The first is in the chapter (Chapter II, 6) on the approach of Ahriman to (harm) the creation (madam dayan yâtûntan-i Âhriman val dâm).[5]

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1 Justi's Bundehesh, p. 51, ll. 9 to 52, l.1. West, S. B. E., V, pp. 78-9, .Chap. XX, 13. Westergaard's Text, p. 51, l. 19. Lithographed edition of Unwala, p. 60, ll. 8-10. My Bundehesh, p. 94. Grand Bundehesh by T. D. Anklesaria, p. 87, ll. 7-9. Pazend Bundehesh by E. K. Antia, pp. 9-10, Chap. IV.

2 Justi gives . It seems that the original copyist may have written the word twice by mistake and this word was then mixed with the word min. Or, we may render the sentence, as given by Justi thus: The Dâitî river is that river (which) comes from Airân-vêz.

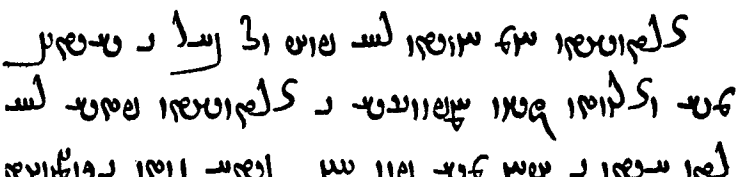
3 From Av. *tach* Sans. तञ्च् Pers. to flow.

4 Justi, p. 58, ll. 4-5. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 89. Westergaard's Ed., p. 58,l. 4. Ed. by Unwala, p. 68, l. 5. My Bundehesh, p. 110, l.4. Grand Bundehesh, p. 121, ll. 7-8. It adds the word 'avân' (waters) after the word tachakân'. Pazend Bundehesh (E. K. Antia's Pazend texts), p. 44, l. 4.

5 Vichîtakihâ-i Zâtsparam, by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 9. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 161, Chap. II, 6.

There, Ahriman is represented as coming to the bank of the river Dâitî (pavan bâr-i maya-i Dâitî)[1]

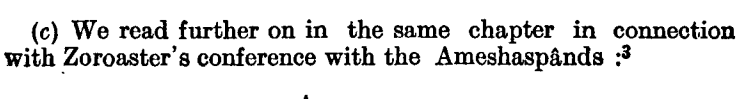
(*b*) The next reference is in Chapter XXI (s. 5). We read :



Translation.—Zaratuhsht went to the banks of the waters of Dâitî for pounding (hûnîtan râi) Hom, because, on account of the conference of Zaratuhsht on it. It (the Dâitî) is the chief of the waters of Awân. It has consisted of four channels (baêtâ, lit. houses).

This passage, like the passage of the Bundehesh above referred to, points to Dâitî as being the chief of rivers, on account of its shores being the seat of Zoroaster's performance of the Haoma ritual and on account of Zoroaster holding there his conferences with the Higher Powers. Just as Yazdân, the plural of Yazd is used for God, so here out of respect the Dâitî is referred to as Âwân, *i.e.*, the water of waters (âwân, plural of âw). It is this word, Âwân, that has passed current among the Parsees as Âwân yazad (અાવાં યઝદ) for the Yazata presiding over waters.

(*c*) We read further on in the same chapter in connection with Zoroaster's conference with the Ameshaspânds :[3]



[1] *Ibid.* p. 10, l. 14, Chap. II, s. 9. West.. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 162, Chap. II, 6.

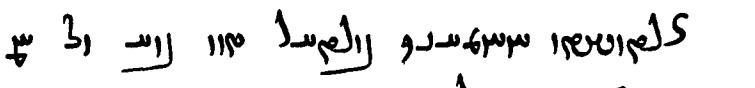
[2] Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâtsparam, by B. T. Anklesaria, pp. 78-79, Chap. XXI, 1. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 155, Chap. XXI, 5.

[3] Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Vichîtakihâ-i Zâdsparam, p. 81, ll. 1-2 Chap. XXI, 10. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, Chap. XXI, 13.

Translation.—The place (gaç) of the meeting (anjuman) was in Irân and in the direction of the regions (matân) on the banks the waters of the Dâitî.

Here we see Dâitî associated with Airân.

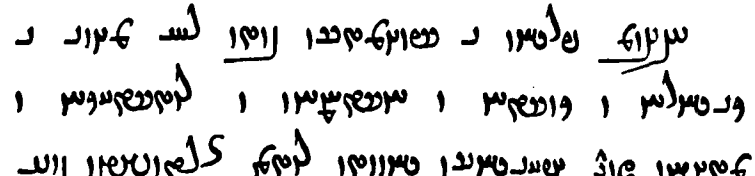
(*d*) Then Dâitî is again referred to (Chapter XXIII of B. T. Anklesaria, chap. XXII, 12 of West) as the seat of the conference of Zaratuhsht with Ahura Mazda. We read :[1]



Translation.—Zaratuhsht, the personage who was the supporter (bortâr) of Oharmazd, arrived for a conference on the banks of the waters of the Dâitî.

I translate the sentence as we find it in the only text available. But, I think, the words "bordâr tan" found here are miswritten for "bordan râi" which we find in similar passages of other conferences.

(*e*) Then, in an account of the conference with the fifth Ameshâspand, Spendârmad, we read of Zoroaster meeting the Ameshâspand on a spring, flowing from the Asnavad mountain and meeting the Dâitî :[2]



[1] *Ibid*, Vichîtakihâ, p 85, Chap..XXIII, 1. West, S. B. E., *Ibid.* p. 160, Chap. XXII, 2.

[2] Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Ed. p. 87, l. 8, Chap. XXIII, 5. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, Chap. XXII, 9.

Translation.—For the fifth questioning (or conference, *parashna*), which was with Spendomad, the spirits (mînô) of the regions and quarters and stations [1] and towns [2] (rutastâkân) and villages (matâân), as many as required, went with Zarthust to the consultation (ham-pûrsagîh) at the place.... where there is a spring (khâni),[3] which comes from the Asnavad [4] mountain and goes to the Dâitî.

This passage gives us some additional information. It says that there flowed into the Dâitî, a stream which had its source in the Asnavad mountain, which, according to the Bundehesh (Chap. XII, 26), was in Âzerbaijân, and which was the seat of the sacred fire of Âzar Gushasp. (Chap. XVII, 7.)

(*f*) The next reference in the Zâdsparam (Chap. XXII s. 12) speaks of the seventh consultation of Zoroaster with Amerdâd "on the river Darêja's high ground on the bank of the waters of the Dâitî".

(𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬱𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬱𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬱𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬀𐬱𐬀)

(5) The Dâdistân-i Dînî.

The Dâdistân-i Dînî refers to this river. The 89th question in this book is about some immortals(ahosh). Seven rulers of this class are named. Among these, one is Gopat-shâh, ruling over the land of Gopat, which land is spoken of as "having the same boundary (ham vimand) with Airân-vêj on the banks of the waters of the Dâitî (pavan bâr-i maya-i Dâitî)".[9] This passage shows the connection of Airân-vêj with the river Dâitî.

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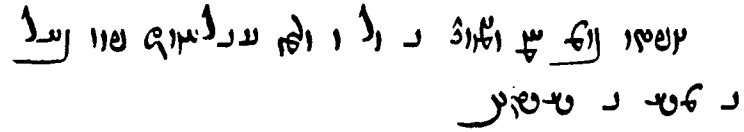
1 Av. 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀 station.

2 Pers. خانی Av. 𐬱 Sans. खा.

3 Av. 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬀𐬱𐬀 (Zamyâd Yasht.) Yt. XIX·5, Âtash Nyâish, 5 Sirouzeh 9. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names.

4 B. T. Anklesaria's Ed. p 89, Chap. XXIII, 7. West, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 162, Chap. XXII, 12.

5 Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's Ms. Text, p. 380, ll. 5-6. Tehmuras's Transliteration in Avesta characters, p. 276, l. 3. His Gujarâti Translation with my Introduction, pp. 204-5. West, S. B. E. XVIII., p. 257, Chap. XC, 4.



i.e., the country of Gopat which has the same boundary (vimand) as that of Irânvêj on the banks of the waters of the Dâitî.

We gather the following from the above references to the Dâitî in the Avesta and Pahlavi books:

(*a*) Airân-vêj is spoken of as the country of the good Dâitî.

(*b*) The Dâitî is spoken of as "good", because it helps the tillage of this part of the country.

(*c*) This part of Airân-vêj where the Dâitî flowed was the place, where Yima-khshaêta (Jamshed) had a conference with Ahura Mazda.

(*d*) Zoroaster paid homage to the fertilizing waters of the Dâitî.

(*e*) Airân-vêj, the River Dâitî and the Kayânian glory are associated together, *i.e.*, the country of Airânvêj where good Dâitî flowed was a seat of the glorious kings of Airân.

(*f*) Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra and other worthies of Iran, paid homage to Ardviçura in this Airân-vêj of the good Dâitî.

(*g*) Zoroaster had conferences with Higher Powers in the country of this river.

(*h*) One of the affluents of the river is Arikhshân or Aushân.

(*i*) The Dâitî river is in Airân-vêj.

(*j*) It was a swift-flowing river.

(*k*) A stream from the Asnavant Mountain flowed into it.

The principal fact, which we see in the midst of all the above references is this, that the river Dâitî, of which the river Darêja, on which Pôurûshasp's house stood, was a branch, was situated in the region of Airân-vêj. One of the passages

(passage (*e*) of the Zâdsparam) says further, that one of the affluents of the Dâitî flowed from the Asnavant mountain.

Having determined, that the river Dâitî, on a branch of which named Darêja, there stood the house of Pôurûshaspa in which Zoroaster was born, was situated in Airân-vêj, we will proceed to determine, on the authority of the old Iranian books, the situation of the country of Airân-vêj.

VIII.

(E) AIRÂN-VÊJ. WHERE WAS IT SITUATED? IN ÂTARPATAKÂN.

In this section, we will examine what is said of Airân-vêj (A) in the Avesta and (B) in the Pahlavi books, and determine where it was situated.

(A) AIRÂN-VÊJ IN THE AVESTA.

Airân-vêj is referred to in the Avesta 6 times.

1 The Vendîdâd.

(*a*) We find a reference to it in the first chapter of the Vendîdâd. It is one of the 16 best places created by Ahura Mazda. It stands there first in the list. Scholars have differed and still differ about the situation of this Airân-vêj. Some scholars have looked for this country to some place between the Oxus (Âmu Daryâ) and the Zaxartes (Sir-Daryâ) on the North-west of the modern Bulur Tâgh and a little north of the Pamirs. The Vendîdâd speaks of this country as one, where there prevails a long winter of ten months and a short summer of two months (Vend. I, 4). It is this reference to the climate that has led Bunsen and other scholars to look for it toward the Pamirs.[1] But it appears on other grounds that one need not go so far.

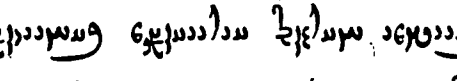
(*b*) Then, we find a reference to it in the second chapter of the Vendîdâd, which is a kind of brief Jamshed-nâmeh, treating of one great work of king Jamshed, viz., the building of a *vara*, *i.e.* an enclosure or a colony, the area of which he increased three times, as the population in it increased from a small select number to a large number. Therein (Chap. II. 21), is an account of a converse, conference or consultation of Jamshed with Ahura Mazda;

[1] *Vide* my Essay in Gujarâti on the Geography of the Avesta (1887) (અવસ્તા જમાનાની ઘર સંસારી બાબતો, ભૂગોળ અને ઓકરાર નામું.) pp. 123-25.

and Airân-vêj of the good Dâitî river is the country of that conference. There, both Ahura Mazda and Jamshed (Yima-khshaêta) are spoken of as known and praised in Airyana Vaêja of the good (river) Dâitî.

We find this fact mentioned another time also in the same para. in a little altered form.

(*c*) In the Vendîdâd (Chap. XIX 39), the country of Airyana-vaêja seems to have been indirectly associated with king Jamshed. There, all the seven *keshvars* or regions (Haft-keshvar) are praised, and then the country of Airyana and king Jamshed are praised. We read :



Translation.—I praise the Glory of the countries of Airyana. I praise the Glory of Yima Khshaêta (Jamshed), the master of flocks.

This invocation of Airyana and Jamshed, one after another, in the same passage, points to some relations between them.

It seems that Airyana-vaêja was, as it were, the centre of the countries spoken of as Airyana. Airyana-vaêja is spoken of in the singular in the first and second chapters. Here in the 19th chapter, Airyana is spoken of in the plural as Airyanâm dakhyunâm. So Airyana-vaêja may be taken, as it were, as the cradle of the people of all countries known as Airyana or Iranian countries (airyanâm dakhyunâm).

(*d*) We again find Airyana-Vaêja referred to in the Hormazd Yasht (Yt. I, 21) in association with the good Dâitî. There, homage is paid to both, the Airyana-vaêja and the Dâitî (Nemô Airyênê Vaêjahi,....nemô aipi Dâityayâo).

(*e*) In the Âbân Yasht (Yt. V, 17), Ahura Mazda is represented as giving offerings to Ardviçura Anâhita in the Airyana-vaêja of the good Dâitî (Tâm Yazata yô dadhvâo Ahurô Mazdâo Airyênê Vaêjahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo).

(*f*) In the same Yasht (s. 104), Zarathushtra also is represented as giving similar offerings in the Airyana-vaêja of the good Dâitî.

(*g*) In the Râm Yasht (Yt. XV, 2), Ahura Mazda is represented as giving offerings to Râm Khâstar in the Airyana-vaêja of the good Dâiti.

We learn from all these passages of the Avesta, some of which we have also referred to above in the consideration of the situation of the Dâitî, that Airyana-vaêja is closely associated with the river Dâitî. It was the cradle of the old Mazdayaçnân religion, and later on, of the Zoroastrian Mazdayaçnân religion. Ahura Mazda, Jamshed and Zoroaster were associated with it. It was the first-founded country of the world, and had long winters. The countries known as Airyana or Iranian seem to have taken their origin from it. The Avesta does not directly tell us where Airyana-vaêja was situated. But, as we saw above that the Dâitî (with its affluent Darêja), with which it is associated, was situated in Atarpatakân, we may take it that Airyana-vaêja also was situated in Âtarpâtakân. However, we will further determine the situation from Pahlavi books also.

(B) AIRÂN-VÊJ IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

1. The Dinkârd.

Just as the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd is the Avestaic Zarthusht-nameh, so the 7th book of the Dinkârd is properly said to be the Pahlavi Zarthusht-nâmeh[1].

(*a*) There, in the seventh book, Irân-vêj is spoken of as the country where the good Dâitî runs.

[2]

(*b*) The same reference occurs further on in Chapter IX[3].

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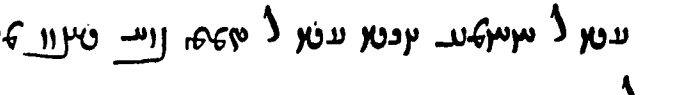
[1] Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, Introduction, p. IX.

[2] *Ibid* Vol. XIV, Text p. 83, l. 9, Bk. VII, Chap. VII 60. West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 107, Bk. VII, Chap. VIII, 60. D. M. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 668, l. 2.

[3] *Ibid* Text, p 91, l. 7 Bk. VII, Chap. VIII, 23, West, Chap. IX, 23, S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 112. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 672, l. 1.

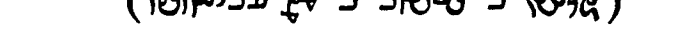
(*c*) Then, in another place, fire appeals to Ahura Mazda to be sent away to Airân-vêj from other countries where it is not well cared for.[1] We read :



i.e., Then O Oharmazd! take (*yensiun*) me (there); then (adin) give (*i.e.*, place) me there in the midst of Airân-vêj.

(*d*) Then the *van-i javit thish i.e.*, the tree which does no harm is spoken of as being in Airân-vêj[2].

(*e*) In another place the hill of Dâitî, the Chakât Dâitî is spoken of as being in Airân-vêj.[3]



2. The Bundehesh. In the Bundehesh, Airân-vêj is mentioned 9 times :

(*a*) Chap. XII, 25, where Irân-vêj is said to be the country of the mountain Kundrasp.

(*b*) Chap. XIV, 4, where it is mentioned as the place where certain chosen cattle are referred to as having been carried to Airân-vêj.

(*c*) Chap. XX, 13, where it is spoken of as the country of the Dâitî river, the river full of noxious creatures.

(*d*) Chap. XX, 32, where Airân-vêj is said to be the country of the river Darêja near which was the house of Zoroaster's father.

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4 *Ibid* Vol. XVII, p. 22, ll.11-12, Bk. IX, Chap. XI, 3. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 190, Dinkârd, Book IX, Chap. XII.3. Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XVII, Text p. 22, ll. 11-12, Chap. XI, 3. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 797, l. 9.

5 West, S. B. E, Vol. XXXVII, p. 202. Bk. IX, Chap. XVI. 13. Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XVII, p. 38, l. 10. Chap. XV, 11.

6 Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XVII, p. 47, ll. 3-4, Bk. IX, Chap. XIX 3, West, S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 210, Bk. IX, Chap. XX, 3. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, p. 809, l. 3.

(*e*) Chap. XXV, 11, where it is spoken of as the country where winter arrives on roz Adar, mâh Deh, the day when all men kindle a fire.

(*f*) Chap. XXIX, 4, where Airân-vêj is spoken of as "Var-i Jam-kard" *i.e.*, the colony founded by Jamshid. This is just in line with what we saw above, in the references in the Avesta, where Jamshed was associated with Airân-vêj.

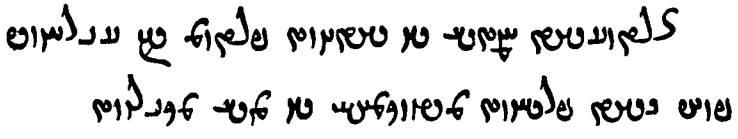
(*g*) Another passage in the same chapter (s. 5) speaks of Airân-vêj as containing the "van-i javît bîsh" *i.e.*, the tree keeping away pain.

(*h*) Another passage (s. 12) in the same chapter is the most important passage for our purpose of identification. We read: "Airân-vêj is in the direction of Âtarôpâtakân."

[1]

Thus according to this passage, Airân-Vêj is in the direction or in the quarter (kost) of Âtarópâtakân, the modern Âzerbaijân.

(*i*) Chap. XXXII, 3. This passage also is very important. We learn from it, that Airân-Vêj was the very first country where Zarathushtra preached his new religion. We read:[2]



[1] Justi's Bundehesh, p. 70, l. 8. Ervad Tahmuras's Grand Bundehesh (1908), p. 198, l. 13. My Bundehesh (1901), p. 148, l. 17. Westergaard's Text, p. 70, l. 8. Edition of M. R. Unwala (1897) p. 82, l. 6. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 120. Chapter XXIX, 12 Anquetil Dr. Perron, T. II p. 410, Chap. XXX. Windischmann Zoroastrische Studien, p. 112. p. 13.

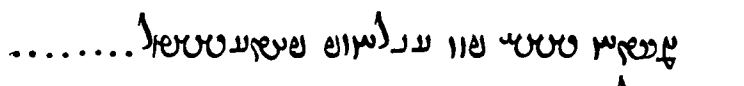
[2] Justi's Text, p. 79, l. 12. Grand Bundehesh of T. D. Anklesaria, p. 235, l. 5. (Here, we have the word *nazdest* in place of *fartûm*). Westergaard's Text, p. 79, l. 11. Unwala's Lithographed ed., p. 92, l. 12. My Bundehesh, p. 176. E. K. Antia's Pazend Bundehesh, Pazend Texts, p. 57, l. 6, Chap. 25. Anquetil Du Perron, Tome II, p. 419, Chap. XXX. Anquetil's footnote 9 is interesting and shows, how this sentence has been read and understood in various ways. He reads *fráz dâd* for *fraz yasht*. He says that some read the word preceding Mediomâh, *viz parshunt* (spread), as Farsho (s) ta (r) and some as pursant *i.e.* with years, and some as "pur sud" "with success". West. S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 141, Chap. XXXII. 3. Windischmann, Zoroastrische Studien, p. 119, Chap. XXIII.

Translation.—Zoroaster, when he brought the religion, he first praised (frâz-yasht) (and) spread it in Airân-Vêj. Mediômâh accepted the religion from him.

This passage then points to Airân-Vêj as the country of the first appearance of Zoroaster as a new prophet.

3. Minokherad. In Minokherad, there are several references to Airân-Vêj.

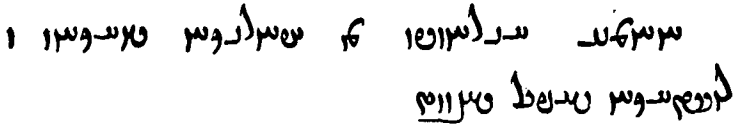
(*a*) We read in Chap. XLIV, 17, that there was a strong winter there[1].



i.e., The demon of Winter is more powerful (pâtakhshâtar) in Airân-Vêj. . . . . There are 10 months of winter and two months of summer in Airân-Vêj.

This description of winter is the same as that in the Vendidâd (Chap. I, 4).

(*b*) A further reference in the same book and chapter speaks of Airân-Vêj as being superior to other countries. We read (Chap. XLIV, 24)[2].



i.e., Oharmazd created Airân-vêj better than other places and towns.

(*c*) Then Kangdez is spoken of as being in the direction of Airân-vêj.

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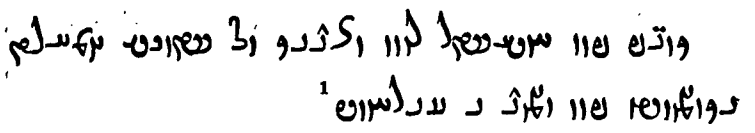
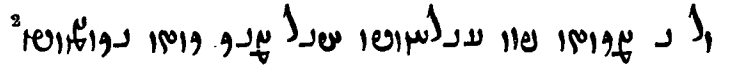
1 Dânâk-u Mainyô-i Khard, Pahlavi, Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, edited by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, with an Introduction by myself, p. 128, l. 2. Dastur Darab's Text, Ed., p. 65, l. 11. West's Mainyo-i- Khard, Pazand and Sanskrit Texts, p. 44. Translation, p. 172. S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 86, Chap. XLIV, 17.

2 Ervad T. D. Anklesaria's Text, p. 128, l. 7. Dastur Darab's Text, p. 65, l. 16. West's Pazand-Sanskrit Texts, p. 45, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 86.



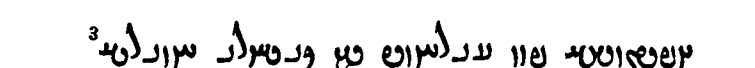
Translation.—Kangdez is placed in the eastern region (rûn) near Satvas within the limits (vinand) of Airân-vêj.

(*d*) Airân-vêj is the seat of Jamshed's Var or colony



i.e., The Var made by Jamshed was made underneath the ground in Airân-vêj.

(*e*) Airân-vêj is spoken of as being in the region of Khaniras:



i.e., Gopatshâh is in Airân-vêj in the region of Khaniras.

To sum up the contents of the references to Airân-vêj in the Avestâ and Pahlavi books: (*a*) Airân-vêj is the country of the Darêja and the Dâitî River. (*b*) It was the seat of Jamshed's var or colony (*c*) It was situated in Âtarópâtakân. (*d*) It was the country where Zoroaster first preached his religion and made Maidyômâh his first disciple. (*e*) It has a long severe winter of ten months. (*f*) It is situated in the region of Khaniras. Of all the references, the most important is that of the Bundehesh, which definitely says, that it was situated in Âtarôpâtakân.

The Area of Airân-vêj.

Later Oriental writers differ as to the extent and area of Airân-vêj or Irân. Dastur Hoshang says under the word Airân-vêj (Vendîdâd, Glossary, p. 15), that according to Persian geographers, Airân-vêj, included many countries.

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1 T. D. Anklesaria's Text, p. 164. Dastur Darab's Text, p. 85, l. 6. West's Pazand-Sanskrit Text, p. 56, l. 7. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 109, Chap. LXII, 13-14.

2 *Ibid*, Ibid, Ibid. West, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 109, Chap. LXII, 15.

3 *Ibid*, p. 111, West, Chap. LXII, 31. T. D. Anklesaria's Text, *op. cit.* p. 166, l. 11, Dastur Darab's Ed., p. 86, l. 19.

ولایت عراق و فارس و خراسان و آذربیجان و اهواز و طبرستان و بیشتر از حدود شام را نیز گویند

Here, we see, that in the name Irân, were included, Irâq, Fars, Khorâssân, Âzarbaijân, Ahwâz, Tabâristân and even Syria. Yaqout[1] in his Modjem el Bouldan, on the authority of Abou'r-Rihan el-Kharezmi, includes Fars, Djebal and Khoraçân in Irân. But all these Arab writers seem to refer to the later area and extent of Airân-vêj. They seem to refer more to the countries known as the Airyana or Iranian countries.

The cold of Airân-vêj.

We saw above, that in the Vendîdâd (I, 3-4), it is said of Airân-vêj, that there were ten months of winter and two of summer. The Minokherad (West, Chap. XLIV, 17, S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 86) also refers to it. It says: "The demon of winter is more powerful in Airân-vêj. And it is declared by Revelation that in Airân-vêj [1] there are ten months of winter and two months of summer and even those two months of warm weather are cold to water, cold to earth and cold to plants. And their adversity is the winter." This statement has led many a scholar to look elsewhere for Airân-vêj, because Âzerbaijân, where Airân-vêj is said to have been situated, is not so cold. But, in this connection, one may read with some interest, what Prof. Jackson says from his own experience of the cold of Âzerbaijân as late as in March. He says: "In the daytime I was compelled to wear my sleeping-jacket over my head to shield my frost-beaten face from the congealing wind, and as evening fell I muffled a bathrobe over this to add some warmth. I envied anyone whose lot it might be to make the journey in midsummer instead of in winter, and I understand why the Avesta regarded winter as 'the work of demons' and said that it was created by Ahriman as a blight to mar the perfection of Airyana Vaejah, the Âzerbaijân of to-day, which otherwise would have been a paradise. In this land the Vendîdâd says 'there are ten months of winter and two months of summer. A gloss, it is true, changes the text to 'five months of winter and seven months of summer,' but judging from my own discomfort (for March seemed in the Avestan words to be the very 'heart of winter' *zimahe zaredhaēm*), I felt inclined to agree with the original reading." Again, we must bear in mind, that Prof.

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1 Dictionaire Géographique, &c., de la Perse, par Barbier de Meynard, p. 63.

2 Persia Past and Present, p.

Jackson speaks here about the plains. But, in the mountains close by, there must be more terrible cold; and poets and seers like the old writers of the Vendîdâd, often wrote from the tops of mountains.

Henri Rawlinson also speaks thus of the cold of the country: "The severity of the winter is equally characteristic; for I suppose there is no inhabited part of Âzerbaijân where the snow lies as deep as around Takht-i-Soleimân."[1]

I was travelling in Âzerbaijân in the latter part of September (1925), and then even, when I expressed a desire to go to some place on the mountain of Sahand, which I saw daily from the plains, I was prevented on the ground, that there was terrible cold there.

Rawlinson's Identification of Airân-vêj as Âtarpâtakân.

We find, that Henri Rawlinson, on various grounds, identifies the land of Airân-vêj with that of Âzerbaijân. In his very interesting and learned article on the "Site of Atropatenian Ecbatana," he says: "I believe there are sufficient reasons for identifying the Airyana Vaedjô, or Aïryana the pure, of the Zend Avestâ, with Âzerbaijân. Monsieur Quatremère has succeeded, in the most satisfactory manner, in tracing the application to the province of Media, of the names of Aria and Ariana from the remotest antiquity down to times comparatively modern . . . . . Anquetil du Perron, in translating the supposed works of Zoroaster, insisted on assimilating the title of Airyana to that of the province Arran, north of the Araxes."[2] In the Vendidâd, Airân-vêj is spoken of as containing the calamity of snakes. On this point, Rawlinson says: "The circumstance of the great snake, also, which Ahriman created in the rivers, is, perhaps not less curious, when we remember that there are as many stories of this nature connected with the Median dynasty from its bearing the family name of Azdehâk, or the Dragon, and when we see that at this present day, a ridge of rock, formed by the calcarious deposit of the water, retains this very title of the Dragon."[3]

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1 Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana, by H. C. Rawlinson. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (1841), 10th Vol., p. 131.

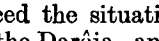
2 *Ibid*, Vol. X, p. 129.

3 *Ibid* p. 131.

IX.

(F) ÂTARÔPÂTAKÂN. WHERE WAS IT SITUATED? IT IS THE MODERN ÂZERBAIJÂN.

Having traced the situation of the house of Pôrushasp on the banks of the Darêja, an affluent of the Dâitî in Airân-vêj, in the country of Âtarôpâtakân, we will now speak of Âtarôpâtakân and settle its situation.

Although we find a name Atarêpâta () in the Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, Yt. 13, 102), the name there, is that of a person[1] and not that of a place or country. So, we will turn to Pahlavi books.

Meaning of the word Âzerbaijân.

Firstly, as to the name itself, the word Âzerbaijân comes from Atarêpâta ( ) in the Avesta (Farvardin Yasht, Yt. XIII, 102 where the word seems to be the name of one of the members of King Gushtasp's family.[2] The name may mean "one protected" (pâta, from S. पा. to protect), or one who protects (in the sense of S. पातृ defender). In the Farvardin Yasht there are several other names that are derived from *âtar*, fire, *e.g.*, Âtarê-kharenangh, Âtarê-chithra, Âtarê-zantu, Âtarê-danghu, Âtarê-dâta, Âtarê-vanu and Âtarê-savangh.[3] Similarly, we find in the Vendîdâd (XVIII, 52)[4], the names of Âtarê-dâta, Âtarê-chithra, Âtarê-zantu and Âtarê-dakhyu, the last of these four names, being another form of Âtaré-danghu.

Again, we learn from Firdousi[5] that Asfandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, had two sons, bearing the names Âzar-farûz (آزرفروز) and Âzar-noush (آزرنوش). The members of Gushtasp's family may have even founded some Fire-temples bearing their names.

1 *Vide* my "Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names," pp. 30 and 32.

2 *Vide* my "Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names," p. 31.

3 Farvardin Yasht, 102, Westergaard, p. 238.

4 *Ibid*, p. 463.

5 Mohl. Tome IV, 456.

For example, we learn from Firdousi that Âzar-noush had founded a Fire-temple named Noush-âzar which was latterly destroyed by Arjasp, the Turanian king. The Pahlavi Bundehesh gives the name of one of the four sons of Asfandyâr as Âtarô-tarsah[1].

This old Avestaic word Âtaro-pâta may have suggested for this part of Persia the name Atar-pâtakân, *i.e.*, "the country protected by Fire or the country protecting or holding Sacred Fire". Then, the Pahlavi word Âtaropâtakân (𐭠𐭲𐭥𐭯𐭠𐭲𐭪𐭠𐭺𐭠𐭭) has given us the Persian form 'Azarbâdgân which latterly became Âzarbejân or Azrabaijan (آزربیجان). Yaqout takes the word in the above sense of protection. He says: "Ibn el-Moqannâ says that Âzerbaijân takes its name from Azerbâd . . . . . Azar signifies fire in the language of the Magis and bâigân (بایگان) would have the sense of 'guardian or protector'. This word would, then mean 'guardian of fire' or 'house of fire'. This opinion is very probable because the temples of fire are very numerous in this country."[2]

Strabo (Bk. XI, Ch. XII, 1), seems to support the above statement of Yaqout, made on the authority of Ibn el-Moquanna, that the place takes its name from one Azerbâd. He says: It (Atropatian Media) had its name from Atropatus, a chief who prevented this country, which is a part of Greater Media, from being subjected to the dominion of the Macedonians. When he was made king he established the independence of this country."[3] The Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i Airan also connects the name, as we will see later on, at the end of this section, with a person, but the person named is one Airan Gushasp who also is spoken of as a chief of the army (sepâh-pat). Strabo speaks of Atropatus as a *chief*.

Yaqout notes an interesting fact about the saving of the province and its fire-temples from ruin at the hands of the invading Arabs. He says: "This Khalif (Omar ben Khattab), on sending Moghaïrah ben Schâbah as governor to Koufah,

1 Chap. XXXI, 29. *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 172.

2 I translate from the French translation of Barbier de Meynard (Dictionnaire Géographique, &c., p. 15).

3 Hamilton and Falconer's Translation (1856), Vol. II, p. 262.

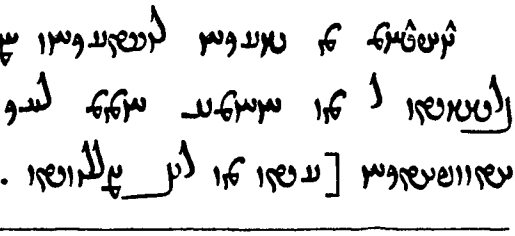
sent him a letter which gave to Hodhaïfah ben el-Yemen, the government of Âzerbaijân. This person, who was then at Nehawend, marched immediately on Âzerbaijân at the head of a large army and stopped at first at Ardebil which is to-day comprised in the province, and where had united the chief persons (مرزبان) who had come from Badjrewân, Mimend, Bedd, Miândj, and other neighbouring villages. They fought energetically and in the end made peace, on paying 800,000 drachms (about eight millions), on condition that their lives would be saved, that no prisoners be taken, that the temples of fire shall be respected, that the Kurds of Belaschjân (بلاشجان), of Silân (سیلان), of Miândouzân (میاندوزان) may not be molested, and that the inhabitants of Schiz (شیز), in particular, should have the right to sing their plaintive ballads (زفر)[1] during their religious feasts as well as to observe their faith publicly."[2]

We will now examine the Pahlavi books to determine the position of Âtaropâtakân.

Pahlavi Books on Âtaropâtakân.

1. The Pahlavi Vendîdâd.

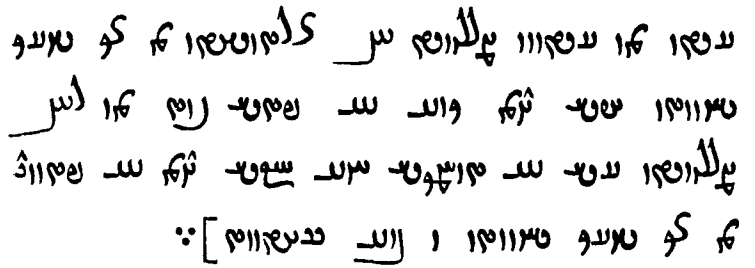
We read the[3] following in the Pahlavi Vendîdâd (Chap. I. 15);—



[1] Dastur Darabji's Vendîdâd p. 8 Dastur Hoshang's p. 15; Spiegel's p. 5. Dastur Jamaspji's Gujarâti Ed. p. 4. Nowroji Kanga's p. 18.

[2] I give my translation from the French of Barbier de Meynard's Dictionnaire Géographique. p. 16.

[3] Barbier de Meynard translates the word in French as "complaintes", which word means "plaintive ballads". Steingass explains the word *zafr* as "making a noise in the throat". I think, that the reference is to the Parsi custom of reciting some prayers in a kind of muttering tone, in what is spoken of, as "bâj", spoken of by Mahomedan authors as zamzame (زمزمہ).



Translation.—The twelfth of the places and cities which I, who an Hormuzd, created best is Rak which is of the three classes in Atarôpâtakan. [There are some who call it Raê..... There are some who say that Zarathushtra was of that place. He (Zarathushtra) was the head (pat) of these three (classes of the place) which they called Raê. It is called (the city) of three classes because there three classes (patvand, lit. relatives) were (i. e. arose) in and continued from that place.

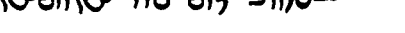
We see from this passage of the Pahlavi Vendîdâd that the author speaks of Rak, called Raê by some, in Atarôpâtakân, as the place of Zoroaster.

We find the following references to Âtarôpâtakân in the

2. The Bundehesh.

Bundehesh:

(*a*) (Chap. XII, 26.) It is the country where the Asnavand mountain is situated



i.e. The Asnavand mountain (is situated) in Âtarôpâtakân.[1]

(*b*) (Chap. XX, 23) Here the river Sped is spoken as being in Âtarôpâtakân and as the place where Dahâk (Zohâk) prayed to Ahriman

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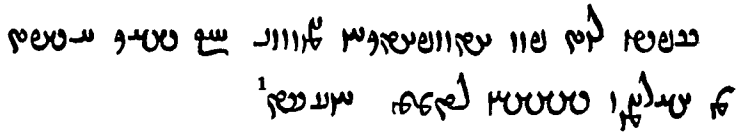
[1] Justi's Bundehesh, p. 24, l. 2. West, S. B. E. V., p. 39. Westergaard, p. 24, l. 2. Unwala's lithographed text, p. 28, l. 8. Windischmann 5. 74 My Bundehesh, p. 42. The Grand Bundehesh (Behramgore, T. Anklesaria's Ed., p. 79, l. 11) gives the name of the mountain as which can be read as Ausind.

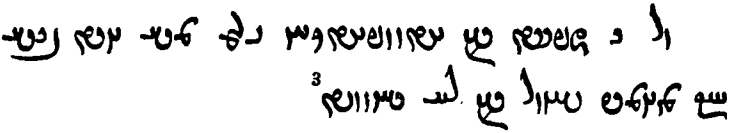


i.e. The Sapid river in Âtarôpâtakân they say that Dahâk asked for a desire (ayâft) there from Ahriman and (his) demons.

We find from this passage that, just as Jamshed with his *var* has been associated with Airân-vêj in Âtarôpâtakân, so Zohâk, the great enemy of Jamshed also is associated with the country of Âtarôpâtakân. This passage supports the later Arab writers who have included Iraq in Airân-vêj in the country of Âtarôpâtakân.

(*c*) Similarly the river Zahâvayi is said to be in Âtarôpâtakân (Chap. XX, 25) [2] Dr. West says, that it is "possibly one of the rivers Zâb, which rise on the borders of Âdarbîjan, flow into the Tigris, and so reach the Persian Gulf, the sea on the coast of Pars. Or it may be the Shirvân, another affluent of the Tigris, which flows through the district of Zohab."

(*d*) (Chap. XXII, 2). The lake Chaechast is spoken of as being situated in Âtarô pâtakân. This lake is, as we will see later on, identified with the modern lake Urumiah:



i.e. Lake Chaêchast is in Âtarôpâtakân. Its waters are warm, keeping off (lit. separate from) sickness (bish, pain) [4] wherein no life-bearing (jân-var) thing exists.

(*e*) XXIX, 12. We have referred above (sec. VIII. B) to this passage which speaks of Âtarôpâtakân as the country containing Airan-vej.

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[1] Justi's Bundehesh, p. 52, l. 12. My Bundehesh, p. 94. West, S. B. E. V p. 80. Windischmann, p. 98. Westergaard, p. 52, l. 11.

[2] Justi p. 52, l. 16. My Bundehesh, p. 96. West, p. 81. Windischmann p. 98. Westergaard, p. 52, l. 15.

[3] Justi p. 55, l. 11. My Bundehesh, p. 103. West, p. 85. Westergaard p. 55, l. 10. Windischmann, p. 101.

[4] This seems to be a reference to its health-giving properties. I remember having heard, when travelling in its district, that people from adjoining places went there to have a bath.

We will now look into the Zâdsparam.

2. Zâdsparam.

(*a*) Chap. XI, 9. Here Âtarôpâtakân is spoken of as containing the mount Asnavand on which burnt the fire Gushasp. We read :

[1]

Translation.—Âtar Gûshasp (was placed) on Mount Asnavand in Âtarôpâtakân.

(*b*) Chap. XVI, 12. The second reference to Âtarôpâtakân in the Zâdsparan is in connection with Zoroaster's miracle of being thrown in a den of wolves, where he was miraculously saved. His mother, on going to the den under the apprehension of finding her child dead, was pleased to find it alive. Then, she said to herself : " I will not hereafter, as long as I live, give the child to any body, even if both the towns—Râgh and Nôtar were to unite together here." The last words, *viz.* " Not even if both the towns—Râgh and Nôtar—were to unite together "

[2]

have, as it were, become proverbial. They mean something like our English words " Even if Heaven and Earth were to meet." This phrase is used more than once in different places. [3] Now, here, these two provinces are spoken of as being in Âtarôpâtakân.

[4]

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1 Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâtsparam by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, p. 42, l.13, Chap. III 85. West, S. B. E. Vol. V ,p. 186, Chap. XI 9.

2 Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâtsparam by B.T. Anklesaria p. 64, l. 8, Chap. X. 14. West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 146, Zâdsparam Chap., XVI, 11.

3 (*a*) West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII. p. 29. Dinkârd Bk. VII Chap. II, 51. Dastur Darabji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, p. 36. l. 3. Chap. I 51. (*b*), West (Ibid) p. 40. Madon's Ed. Vol. II. p. 609, l. 14. Chap. III. 19. Dastur Dorab. Vol. XIII, p. 52. Chap. II. 19. Madon's Ed. Vol. II, 617, l. 20.

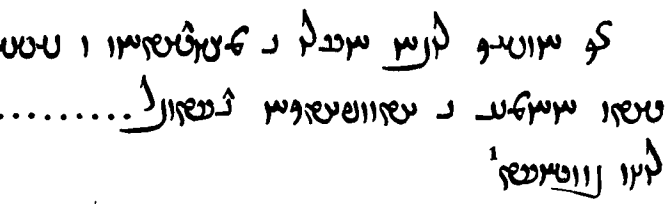
4 Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâttsparam, by B. T. Anklesaria, p. 64, Chap. X, 15. West, S. B. E. Vol. XLVII, p. 147. Zadsparam, Chap. XVI, 12.

Translation.—These two towns are in Âtarôpâtakân, in thought like (chegun) sixty farsangs from Chist. Zarthusht was from Ragh and Vishtasp from Notar.

This Chist seems to be a short form of (lake) Chaêchast the modern Urumiâh. We see from this passage, that the early infant life of Zoroaster is associated with Âtarôpâtakân and with its lake Chaêchasta.

3. The Bahman Yasht.

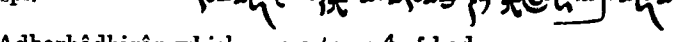
In the Bahman Yasht (chap. I, 7) there is a reference to the fact of king Khusro (Nosherwan Adal) sending for learned priests from all parts of the country and among them a priest named Nishâpur of Dad Hormazd from Âtarôpâtakân.



Translation.—That Anoshiravan called before himself Khusru (son) of Mahvandad and Nishapur[2] (son) of Dâd Ormazd who was the Dastur of Âtarôpâtakân.

4. The Pazend Jamaspi.

The Pazend Jamaspi speaks of Azerbaijan as a place of evil repute. It says:[3]



i.e., Adharbâdhigân which was a town[4] of bad persons.

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1 Zend-i Vohuman Yasht by Dastur Kekobad Adarbad, p. 2, l. 13. West, S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 194, Chap. I, 7.

2 Dr. West takes the name as "Dâd-Ahurmazd of Nishapur." The usual 'i' between the two names is joined with the word 'Nishapore.' This seems to have led him to take this form as the name. But I think that it is a small mistake of the copyist and we are not to take the word as Nishapuri as West seems to have taken it. Dastur Kekobad takes the name as Shapur of Dad Hormuzd. But then he ignores the 'i' after Dad Hormazd.

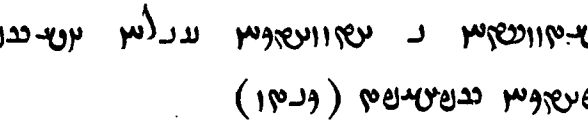
3 *Vide* the Pazend Text in my Jamaspi, p. 58, l. 9 for Text; p. 108 for translation.

4 P. روستا a village, a town.

This statement about Âzerbâijân refers to the fact of the attempts of annoyance made against Zoroaster by evil-minded persons of the country. A passage in the Dinkârd shows that even the country of the Prophet's mother was not free from such evil-minded persons.

5. The Shatroiha-i-Airân.

A Pahlavi treatise, named Shatroiha-i Airân, of which I will speak at some length later on, seems to show that Âtarôpâtakân was also the name of a town. We read therein [1]



i.e. The city of Âtarôpâtakân was founded by Airan Gushasp who was the commander of the army at Âtarôpâtakân.

Summary of the references to Âtarôpâtakân.

Possibly the city latterly gave its name to the province. From these various references to Âtarôpâtakân, we learn the following facts.

(1) It was the country where stood the Asnavand mountain.

(2) It was the country, in which stood the lake Chaêchast, the modern Urumiâh.

(3) It was the country wherein burnt the sacred fire, Adar-Gushasp.

(4) It was the country where occurred an extraordinary occurrence of Zoroaster's childhood, *viz.*, his being saved from a den of wolves in which some evil-minded people of the country had thrown him.

Now several facts lead us to say, that the Âtarôpâtakân of the Pahlavi books is modern Azerbaijân. The most evident of these are the following :

(1) Firstly, Azerbaijân is a later form of the name of the country derived from the word Âtarôpâtakân, which, at first, became Adarbâdgan and then Adarbaijân or Azerbaijân. The word when written in Pahlavi can assume the form.

[1] Pallavi Texts by Dastur Jamaspji, p. 24, l. 2. *Vide* my Translation in English in my Aiyâdgâr-i- Zarirân, Shatroiha-i- Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i- Seistan, p. 115.

(2) Secondly, Chaêchasta is spoken of as a lake in Âtarôpâtakân. Chaêchasta is spoken of by a later Mahomedan writer on the Geography of Persia, as we will see later on, as the modern lake Urumiâh which is situated in Azerbaijân. So, Âtarôpâtakân, the country of lake Chaêchasta, is the same as Azerbaijân, the country of the lake Urumiâh.

(3) The Pahlavi books speak of a mountain called Asnavand in Âtarôpâtakân. A mountain of a corresponding name is in modern Azerbaijân. We will refer to it later on.

X.

PERSIAN BOOKS BY PARSEE WRITERS

ZARTHUSHT-NÂMEH.

Before proceeding further in the matter of the remaining further questions of our inquiry, we will see in this section, what some later Zoroastrian writers of Persia have said in Persian on the subject of Zoroaster's birthplace.

The Persian Zarthûsht-nâmeh [1] was written, as the author says, within two days. It was commenced on roz Âdar and finished on roz Khorshed· *mâh Âbân* 647 Yazdazardi. The latter date corresponds to 12th August 1278 [2]. So, the work is about 650 years old. The author speaks of himself as

The Persian Zarthûsht-nâmeh of Farzâneh Behrâm Pazdu.

[1] For an account of the book, *vide* the following: (*a*) Dr. West's article on Pahlavi Literature (Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie), p. 122. (*b*) A free Gujarâti version of Zarthusht-nâmeh with Notes, published by Dastur Peshotan Behramji Sanjana in 1864. Two editions of it have since then been published, the first in 1902 and the second in 1924. (*c*) The Text and Translation with Introduction and Notes, published in St. Petersbourg in 1904, by Prof. Frédéric Rosenberg under the title of "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht—Nâma)". (*d*) Anquetil Du Perron's "*Vie* de Zoroastre" (Life of Zoroaster), in the second part of his first volume of "Zend-Avesta, l'Ouvrage de Zoroastre", pp. 1-70. Anquetil says: "Ce que je vais en rapporter est pris, pour la plus grande partie, du Zerdust-namah et du Tchengréghatch-namah, Poëmes Persans" (p. 6). (*e*) The translation in English by E. B. Eastwick, published in 1843 by Dr. John Wilson of Bombay as an appendix to his "Parsi Religion" (p. 475 et seq.) (*f*) Hyde has referred to this Zarthusht-nameh in the 24th Chapter of his "Historia Religionis Veterum Persarun (2nd ed. pp. 332-35.)

[2] چل و پنت با ششصد از یزدگرد ∴ چمان ماه آبان که گیتی فسرد
من این روز آذر گرفتم بدست ∴ بر آبان چون بر جشن بودیم مست
شب خور نوشتم. من اینرا بکام ∴ بدو روز کردم من اورا تمام

Le Livre de Zoroastre, (Zarâtusht Nâma) de Zartusht-i Bahrâm ben Pajdû, publié et traduit part Frédéric Rosenberg (1904,) (ll. 1548-50).

Zarthush Behram Pazdu.[1] It seems that the author was encouraged to write the book by another learned man, named Kaikâus, who was the son of Kaikhosru who lived in Raê.[2] The author gives the following account of his work : [3] "I saw a book in the possession of a Mobad-i Mobadân (*i.e.* a High Priest; lit. a priest of priests), which contained various matters, such as, an account of the world (sar guzasht-i Jehân), an account of the ancients (pîshînyân) and of kings, a commentary (sharh) of the Avesta and Zend and the story of Zoroaster's birth and his life. This manuscript book had got so old and worn out that it was difficult to handle it. The old Mobad, who possessed it, was getting anxious, lest the book may get destroyed (gardad tabâh), and so he asked me to translate it in Persian. I am a young man, as yet, free from the anxiety of a married life. I am one who am putting on a kusti on my waist and know something of Vasta (Avesta) and Zend. I took to heart what the old Mobad said and took up the thought of putting the work into verse. I spoke on the subject to my father Kaikhosru the son of Dara who belonged to an old family of Rai (ری). My father encouraged me to take up the work".[4]

This statement shows that the author followed some old written and oral tradition. This is the oldest Persian book, written by a Zoroastrian on the subject of Zoroaster. While speaking of the ancestry of Zoroaster, he speaks of Rae as being the country of the family. We read :

ازین تخم فرخ که گفتم برای [5] ∴ یکی مرد بود ست پاکیزه رای
مر او مرد را نام بد پیترسب ∴ همان نام فرزند او پرشسب
زرا تشت از پشتش آمد پدید ∴ که شد بندهای جهانرا کلید

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[1] گر ایدون که نامم ندانی همی ∴ اگر بشنوی یا بخوانی همی
که زرتشت بهرام بن پژدو ام ∴ یکی یادگاری از آن پردو ام
Ibid. ll. 1553-54.

[2] The author says :

نوشتم من این قصهٔ ارجمند ∴ ز گفتار دانندهٔ هوشمند
هنرمند دین دار کاوس کی ∴ ورا باب کیخسرو از شهر ری

(Prof. Rosenberg's Edition, ll. 1540-41) *i.e.* I have written this pious story from the words of the learned, intelligent, clever, religious-minded Kai Kaus. His father was Kai Khosru and he was of the city of Rae.

[3] I do not translate but merely give the purport.

[4] Rosenberg's Text p. 3.

[5] Ibid, p. 4, ll. 68 et seq. Rosenberg's text gives the word as ترا instead of برای and پاکیزه را instead of پاکیزه رای in the next

زنی دیگر از تخمه این کروه ∴ ابا فرّو دیهیم و برز و شکوه
کم زرتشت فرخنده را بود مام ∴ مر اورا کجا بود دغدوی نام

Translation.—From this noble stock (*i.e.*, of Faridun) of which I spoke, there was a personage of pious thoughts in Rae. The name of this person was Paitarasp. The name of his son was Pôurûshasp. Zoroaster who was the key for the difficulties of the world, was descended from him. There was also a woman from this (family) stock, possessing glory, crown, good stature and dignity. She was the mother of fortunate Zarthust. Her name was Dughdho.

Dastur Peshotan's version of the Zarthusht-nameh seems to have followed a Ms. which gives the last word of the first line of the above first couplet as Rae and he takes the name to be that of the city of Rae.[1]

2. The Persian Rivâyat.

In the Persian Rivâyat, compiled by Darab Hormuzdyâr, on the authority of the letters and writings received from Persia, we have an account of Zoroaster under the heading of کرسی زرتشت پیغمبر و حقیقت پای او *i.e.* The Geneology of the Prophet Zoroaster and some facts about him. We read there.

شهر مان اشو زرتشت اسفنتمان ری

[illegible]

قالب اشو زرشت بشهر بلخ نهاده است[2]

Translation.—The city of the house of Holy Zartosht Asfantoman was Rae. Four chiefs of the Ragha of Zarathustra. The dead body of Holy Zortosht is placed in the city of Balkh.

This passage speaks of Ragi or Rae as the place of the house of Zoroaster and of Balkh as the place of his birth.

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line. But the foot-note collations give correct reading. The text followed by Dastur Peshotan in his Gujarâti translation (p. 10) also gives the word as Rae.

1 Dastur Peshotan's version runs thus: "ઉપર જણાવેલા (પાદશાહ ફરેદુનના) મોબારેક ખાનદાનનો એક દાનેશમંદ મરદ રએ શેહર માં રેહતો હતો." (પેગમબર સાહેબ અશો જરતોશતના જનમારાનો એહવાલમાં દશતુર જરથોશત બેહેરામે બનાવેલાં ફારસી પુશતકનો શરેહ સાથે તરજુમો. પેહેલી આવૃત્તિ (સને ૧૭૬૪) પા. ૧૦. બીજી આવૃત્તિ ૧૯૦૨. પા ૬.

(2) Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Rivâyatby Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unvâlâ, with my Introduction Vol. II., p. 43.

3. Farugh-i-Mazdayasni.

I will refer here to a recent book, the second edition of which was published as recently as 1919 A. C. in Bombay, by Arbab Kaikhosru Shahrokh of Tehran, a distinguished Persian Zoroastrian, a member of the present Persian Parliament. The title of the book is Farugh-i Zazda yasni *i.e.* "The Light of Mazdaism." It may be taken as reflecting the view of the modern Zoroastrians of Persia which view seems to have been guided by what is said in the above Zarthûst-nâmeh. We read therein : اشو زرتشت اسپیتمان .... در شهر ری که بزبان اوستا (رغ) و بزبان پهلوی (رگا) نوشتم است تولد یافتم

Translation.—The Holy Zarathustra Aspitamân was born in the city of Rae, which, in the Avesta langauge, is written as Ragh, and, in the Pahlavi language, as Ragâ.

Rae, the City of Zoroaster's Mother.

It seems, that the city of Rae, from which, Doghdho, the mother of Zoroaster came, was not the city known by the Greeks as Ragha. It seems to be a city of that name in Âzerbaijân. Ragha is mentioned in the Vendîdad (I. 16) as one of the best 16 places erected by Ahura Mazda. In the Pahlavi rendering of that passage, we read, that it is in Âtarôpâtakân. It seems to be a city in modern Âzerbaijân and not the modern Rae near Tehrân.

XI.

LATER MAHOMEDAN WRITERS ON THE SUBJECT OF ZOROASTER'S COUNTRY.

We have so far examined what old Iranian writers of the Avesta and Pahlavi books said of the birth-place of Zoroaster. We have seen on their authority, that Zoroaster was born in the house of Pôurûshaspa, which was situated on a high ground on the banks of the Darêja, an affluent of river Dâitî, which ran in Airan-vêj in Âtrôpâtakân which is modern Âzerbaijân. We have so far answered six of the successive questions (A to F) with which we started our inquiry about the Home of Zoroaster. Now, before proceeding further to answer the other two remaining questions G and H—viz. (G) in what part of Âzerbaijân and (H) in what town of that part was that Home situated,—we will see, what some later well-known Mahomedan authors say on the subject of the Home of Zoroaster.

[1] Farugh-i Mazdaysni by Kaikhusru shahrokh Kermani, second edition of 1919, p. 29, last line.

Tabari.

Tabari, (A. C. 838-923), in his account of the reign of Gushtâsp, gives the following account of Zoroaster :

مغان را یکی پیغامبر بوده است که اورا زردشت گویند که این دین آتش پرستی را او درمیان آورد و دعوی کرد که من پیغامبرم و آتش پرستی ایشان را صواب نمود تا بایام گشتاسپ و او شاگرد عزیر علیه السلام بود و عزیر علیه السلام را مخالف شده بود پس آن استاد زردشت را دعا کرد و گفت خدای تعالی عزوجل او را علامتی کناد و نبی اسرائیل او را از میان خویش بیرون کردند و او از بیت المقدس بعراق آمد و از عراق ببلخ شد نزد پدر گشتاسپ و دعوی پیغامبری کرد و گفت خدای عزوجل مرا بسوی تو فرستاده است و ترا فرموده است که این آتش پرستی را فزون کنی و ترا این شریعت ها فرموده است و این زردشت از عزیر من پیغامبر علیه والسلام علامت ها دیده بود و ازو سخنها یاد گرفته بود و گشتاسپ چون بر وی بگردید و آتش پرستی ایشان را صواب کرد [2]

Translation.—The Magis have a prophet, whom they call Zerdasht, who introduced this religion of Fire-worship. He claimed to be a prophet (and said) "I am a prophet." He showed them Fire-worship as a righteous thing till the time of Gushtâsp. He was the disciple of Azir,[3] on whom may there be the blessing of God. He opposed Azir. Then the master prayed for Zerdasht and said that God—all honour and respect on Him—may show him a mark.[4] The Prophet of the people

[1] I follow the abridged Persian rendering as given in Naval Kishor's edition [2] Munshi Naval Kishore's Text, published in July 1874, p. 206, ll. 12 et seq. [3] Zotenberg gives the name as Aziz (Tabari traduit par Zotenberg Vol. I, p. 499). Azir is Esdras of the Christians.

[4] Zotenberg translates "le dé'figura" i.e. disfigured him.

of Israel (thereupon) removed him from himself and he came from Jerusalem to Irâq and from Irâq went to Balkh to the father of Gushtâsp and claimed to be a prophet and said "God-all honour and respect be on him-has sent me towards you and has ordered you that you promulgate this fire-worship and has ordered to you the observance of these customs. This Zardusht has received marks from my prophet Azir and has learnt (wise) words from him." Gushtâsp when he turned (*i.e.* was inclined) towards him, made fire-worship righteous for them (*i.e.* the Magis).[1]

This peculiar account of Tabari, makes Zoroaster at first an inhabitant of Jerusalem and then that of Iraq and then represents him as going to Balkh. However this account places him at first in the West. The Arabic text of Tabari (Annales of Tabari by J, De Goeje, Vol. V., P. 648) speaks of Zoroaster going to Azerbaijân from Palestine (فلسطين) to preach his religion and from there to Baltah (Ibid ll. 9 to 12).

2 Hamza Isfahâni.

Hamzah[2] Isfahâni, a contemporary of Tabari, in his Târikh-i Seni Muluk-al-Arz wa l' Anbiyâ (كتاب تاريخ سنى ملوك الارض و الانبياء), *i.e.*, "Chronological History of the Kings of the World and Prophets," associates Zoroaster with Âzerbaijân. In his account of the reign of Gushtasp, he says:

گشتاسب كان في سنة ثلثين من ملكه و خمسين من عمره
اتاه زردشت اذربيجان يعرض عليه الدين

Dr. Gottwaldt thus translates the Arabic into Latin: "Ad hunc trigesimo regni anno, cum ipse L annos esset natus, Zerduscht Adjerbeidjanensis accessit atque religionem exposuit."[3] Prof. Jackson gives the following translation: "In the thirtieth year of Gushtasp's reign, when he himself was 50 years old, Zardusht of Âdarbaijân came to him and expounded the religion to him."[4]

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[1] Zotenberg's version, given on the authority of another text, differs somewhat from the above version, given by me on the authority of Naval Keshore's Text; but both the versions agree in this, that Zoroaster came to Balkh from the West.

[2] Dr. Gottwaldt's Edition (Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium Libri X. edidit J. M. E. Gottwaldt, 1844), p. 36, l. 18 et seq. *Vide* the Edition of Hamza by the Kaviani Press of Berlin, p. 27, l. 14.

[3] Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium, Libri X, Tome II, Translatio Latina (1848) p. 26.

[4] Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 199.

3. Maçoudi.

Maçoudi, who was born at the end of the 9th century (Died 956 A.C.) speaks of Zoroaster as Zerâdasht (زراد شت) and as coming to the court of Yustasf (يستاسف) or Gustâsp as one of the inhabitants of Âzerbaijân (من اهل آذربيجان). The genealogy of Zoroaster,[1] which Maçoudi gives, corresponds, to a certain extent, to what we find recited in our Afringâns. He says, that at Zoroaster's instance Gustâsp sought out the sacred fire founded by Jamshed in the province of Khârzem (خوارزم) and placed it in a Fire temple in the city of Darabjard (مدينه دارابجرد) in Pars. (پارس). In Maçoudi's time (Hijri 332), the temple was known as Azarjûi (آذرجوى) and was held in high respect by the Magis of his time. This sacred fire was, according to Persian tradition, ere this, discovered by Kaikhosru, when he went on an expedition against the Turcs in Kharzem.[2] He says further that the Magis placed Zoroaster 258 years before Alexander.

In these references, the reference, most important to us in our present inquiry, is, that which says that Zoroaster came from Âzerbaijân.

4. Sharastani.

Abu'l Fath Muhammad Asch-Sharastâni (A.C. 1086-1153), who is generally known as Sharastâni, because he was born in Sharastân, a town in Khorasan, in his book, entitled Ketâb-ul-milal wa al-nahal (كتاب الملل و النحل), *i.e.*, "Book on religious and philosophical sects," has a separate chapter on Zoroastrians (الزرادشتية).[3] Therein, he thus speaks of the countries of Zoroaster's parents:

الزرادشتية اصحاب زرادشت بن بورشسب الذى ظهر في زمان كشتاسف بن لهراسب الملك و ابوه كان من اذربيجان وامه من الري و اسمها دغدو

1 Maçoudi's Les Prairies d'Or, par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. II, p. 124, Chap. XXI.

2 *Ibid*, Vol. IV, Chap. LXVIII, pp. 75-76.

3 *Vide* p. 185 (ll. 8 et seq) of Rev. William Cureton's edition, entitled "Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects, by Muhammad Al-Sharastani," Part I (1842).

Dr. Haarbrücher thus renders the version :

"Sie (die Zarâduschtîja) sind die Anhänger des Zarâduscht Ibn Bûrschasb, welcher in der zeit des Königs Kuschtâsf Ibn Luhrâsb erschien ; sein Vater war von Adsarbaidschân und seine Mutter, mit Namen Dughdu von Raï." [1] (*i.e.*, The Zardushtians are the followers of Zarâdusht son of Burschasb who appeared in the time of King Kuschtâsf, son of Luhrâsb. His father was from Adsarbaidschân and his mother, with the name Dughdu, from Raï).

We see from this passage, that Sharastani speaks of the country of Zoroaster's father as Azerbaijân, and of his mother as Rae.

Further on, Sharastani refers to a tradition of Zoroaster being fed on the milk of a cow which was made to eat a particular kind of herbage. In that connection also, a mountain of Azerbaijân is mentioned as the place where Zoroaster was fed.[2]

5. Yaqout.

(*a*) Yaqout (1178-1228), in his Mo'djem El-Bouldan, while speaking of Urumiâh, says :[3] C'est une grande et ancienne ville de l'Azerbaïdjân, à 3 ou 4 milles du lac qui porte so nom. On prétend que c'est la ville de Zeradescht (Zoroastre) et qu'elle a été fondée par les adorateurs du feu." [4] Here, Yaqout says, that the town of Urumiâh in Azerbaijân was the house of Zoroaster.

(*b*) Again Yaqout speaks of a place called Oustounâwend (أستونا وند) as a celebrated fortress, and says that, it was said to

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1 Abu'l-Fath Muhammad asch-Schahrastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen, von Dr. Theodor Haarbrücker (1850), Part I, p. 280.

2 Cureton's Ed. op cit. of "The Book of Religious and Philosophical sects" p. 185, last line (جبل من جبال آذربيجان). Dr. Haarbrücker's German Translation, op. cit., p. 281 (auf die Spitze eines Berges in Adsarbaidschân, *i.e.*, on the summit of a monntain in Azerbaijân). The word *jabl* here seems to be the same as the Zbara of our Avesta books referred to above (Vend. XIX 4 and 11 ; *vide* above Sec. V). Sharistani also refers here to Zoroaster curing a blind man, at Dinavar (دينور), by dropping into his eyes a few drops of the juice of a plant. Cureton's, *Ibid*, p. 187, l. 9. Haarbrücker's German Translation, p. 283.

3 I give the version of Barbier de Meynard. Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse (1861), par Barbier de Meynard, p. 26."

4 *i.e.*, It is a large and ancient city of Azerbaijân, 3 or 4 miles from the lake of that name. They maintain, that it is the city of Zoroaster and that it was founded by the worshippers of fire."

exist since more than 3000 years and it was the place of mesmogân (مسمغان). He then explains this word, saying that *mes* meant grand and *mogân* signified Magi. This *mes* is Avesta maz 𐬨𐬀𐬰, Pahl. 𐭬𐭦, Pers. مه, Sans. महत्, Latin, magnus. Thus the word *masmaga* would mean "the High Mobad or Priest." Yaquot then adds that Khaled beseiged this place and destroyed the power of the last of the Chief Magi priests. He also carried away two daughters of this Head priest to Bagdad.[1] Now this Oustounawend is the Avesta Asnavant (𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬴 Jamyâd Yasht, Yt. XIX. 5). It was the mountain which is associated with lake Chaêchasta (Urumiâh) in the Âtash Nyâish and Sirouzeh, and which, according to the Bundehesh (Chap. XII, 26), was in Azerbaijân.

(*c*) Then, Yaqout, while speaking of Shiz (شيز), says, that it is a district of Âzerbaijân and is believed to be the country of Zeradusht, the prophet of the worshippers of Fire.[2] He adds that Urumiâh is the chief place of this district.

(*d*) We find another reference to Zoroaster and to his connection with the West, with the country of Âzerbaijân, in Yaqout's description of a place named Mâh-dinâr (ماه دينار).[3] He says, that the place, latterly known as Nehâvand, was known by that name. He says, on the authority of another writer, that Mâh-Dinâr was, at first, known as Din-Zerâdasht (دين زراد شت), because its people had accepted the religion of Zoroaster very zealously.

In all these references, Yaqout, associates Zoroaster with Âzerbaijân generally, and with some particular places specially. Of Urumiâh, he says, that it was taken to be the city of Zoroaster.

6. Abulfeda.

(*a*) Abulfeda[4] (1273-1331), the celebrated Arabian writer on History and Geography, who had fought in the Crusades against the Christians and was thus much conversant with this part of the country, says in his History, that Zoroaster was from Âzerbaijân

1 *Ibid* p. 33. 2 *Ibid* p. 367. 3 *Ibid* p. 515.

4 Abulfedae Historia Anteislamica *Arabice* E. Duobus, (1610). Latin version and notes by H. O. Fleischer (1831), p. 150, l. 18.

زرادشت من اهل قریته من قری آذربیجان

i.e., Zarâdasht was (one) of the inhabitants of a village out of the villages of Âzerbaijân.

(*b*) According to Hyde, he says in his Annals, that Zoroaster came from Urmi or Urmiah (ارمی or ارمیه) [1] which, we know, is in Âzerbaijân.

7. Hamd-Allâh Mustaufi-i Qazwini.

Hamd-Allâh Mustaufi, who lived in the early part of the 14th century, refers to Zoroaster in his account of the reign of Gushtâsp,[2] in his Târikh-i Gazideh (تاریخ گذیده). He does not directly refer to the country of Zoroaster. But, what he says of Gushtâsp's embassy to Roum (روم) to ask the Romans, to adopt the Zoroastrian faith immediately after himself adopting the faith of Zoroaster, leads us to say, that, perhaps, he took Zoroaster to belong to the West. However, he places the religious activity of Gushtâsp, both in the West, and in the East. He represents Gushtâsp as building a great wall in Samarkand against the Turanians, as building the fire temple (آتشخانه) of Dizhur (دژهور) in Iraq and as founding the cities of Baizâ and Fashâ (بیضا و فشا) in Pars.[3]

8. Mirkhond.

Mirkhond (1433-98), a bigoted Mahomedan writer, who refers to Zoroaster and his teachings in offensive language in his account of Gushtâsp, speaks of Âzerbaijân as Zoroaster's country. He also, like

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[1] Hyde (2nd Ed. p. 315), who refers to Abul Feda as saying that Zoroaster arose in Urmi or Urmia "Apud Abulphedam Vol. 3, p. 58, Zerdusht dicitur ortus ex ارمی Urmi, seu ارمیه Urmia." I have not been able to verify this statement of Abul Feda, in his Annals by Adler (1791).

[2] Prof. Edward Brown's Text of the Târikh-i Guzida (Select History) published in Leyden in 1910, pp. 96, l. 17 to p. 37. *Vide* Prof. Brown's "Târikh-i-Guzida, abridged in English" (1913) pp. 31-32. According to this author, Faridun had passed to the Romans رومیان an agreement (Sahd-nâmeh) permitting them to profess any religion they liked. So, when Gushtâsp pressed them to adopt the new faith of Zoroaster, they produced this agreement and were left to their own choice.

[3] *Ibid.* Text p. 97, last line.

Tabari, represents him as being a disciple of one of Armiah's (Jeremiah's) disciples (شاگردی یکی از [1] تلامذه ارمیای).[2] He then represents Zoroaster, as giving to his teachings, the name of Zend and Pâzend (زند و پازند). He adds that the wrong believers (بد کیشان bad keshân) who followed these teachings are known as Zendiqs (زندیق) and that many people in the precincts of Âzerbaijân (در حدود آذربایجان) accepted his teachings.

Then, Mirkhond, differing from others, does not represent Zoroaster as going to the East, to Balkh to the court of Gushtâsp, but represents Gushtâsp as going from Balkh to the West to Istakhar, to meet Zoroaster there. We read: (Naval Keshore's Text I, p. 180, l. et seq).

ستایش او در مجلس گشتاسپ تکرار یافت و گشتاسپ
غبت بصحبت زردشت نموده ملاقات او را غنیمت
بزرگ داشتر و از حدود بلخ باعد و عیدي تمام روی بجانب
وی نهاد و چون کار از غیب بحضور منجبر شد گشتاسپ
بسعی تمام پسر خود اسفندیار را بکیش مجوس درآورد
و در اطراف ممالک آتشکدها بنیاد نهاد و فرمود تا دوازده
هزار پوست گاو را دباغت و آنها را مانند پوست آهو تنگ
ساختند مزخرفات مقبول و نتایج طبع نامستقیم زردشت
ار بزر و سیم مجلول بر آن اوراق کر سزاوار احراق بود ثبت
نمودند و چون گشتاسپ باصطخر آمد حکم کرد تا دخمر
ساختند و کتاب ژند را بتعظیم هرچر تمام تر در آنجا نهادند

Translation.—His (Zardusht's) fame came to be talked of in the court of Gushtâsp. Gushtâsp, showing a desire for the intercourse of Zerdusht, (and) attaching great importance (?) to an interview with him, went to him (lit. placed his face in his direction) from the limits of Balkh with a large number and with all

1 تلامذ (talâmiz) or تلامذة (talâmizat) or تلامیذ (talâmiz) disciples.

2 I follow Naval Keshore's Text, Vol. I, pp. 179, last line et seq.

solemnity (aidi). When the work came from mystery to the publicity of soundness[1] (*i.e.* when what was hidden became known *i.e.* when he learnt the teachings of Zoroaster), Gushtâsp brought with all efforts his son Isfandyar into the religion of the Mâgis,[2] and, founded fire-temples all around in his territories and ordered that 12,000 cow-hides may be tanned[3] and turned and thinned like the hide of the deer; and idle tales (muzakhrafât) which were accepted, and conclusions (natâyaj, pl. of natijah) of unsound (nâmustaqim) nature of Zoroaster, which were fit for being burned (ihrâq) were written in dissolved (*mahlâl* or legalized) in (ink of) gold and silver on the leaves (of these hides).....When Gushtâsp came to Istakhar, he ordered that a vault (dokhmê) may be made and the book of Zend may be placed in it with all honour.

In his account of Zoroaster, Mirkhond represents the Prophet as coming down to the plains from the mountain of Ardabil. We read :

در هماندم کر زردشت متولد گشت بخندید چنانچه تمام حضار آواز اورا شنیدند و چون بزرگ شد بکجبلی از جبال آردبیل بالا رفت و ازانجا فرو آمد و کتابی بر دست و میگفت کر این کتاب از سقف خانر کر برین کوه واقع است نازل شد و آن نسخر را زند نام نهاد(4)

Translation.—At the very moment when Zardusht was born, he laughed, so much so, that all, who were present, heard his voice, and, when he came to age, he went up a mountain out of the mountains of Ardabil ; and he came down from that place and (with) a book in his hand, and said : 'This book has descended from the roof of the house which is situated on this mountain and he gave that book the name of Zend.'

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1 "Munjabir," restored to soundness (Steingass).

2 Shea, in his translation (History of the Early Kings of Persia, p. 285) makes Isfandyâr, the agent to bring Gushtâsp to the faith of Zoroaster. He translates : "Gushtâsp afterwards, through the exertions of his son Esfendiâr, came over to the religion of the Magi." He seems to have followed a different text.

3 Dibâghat, tanning.

4 Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text, Vol. I, p. 180, l. 12. *Vide* Shea's History of the Early Kings of Persia translated from the original Persian of Mirkhond entitled the Rauzat-us Safa, p. 286.

According to Yaqout, [1] there was a town of the name of Ardabil, near the mountain. It was a chief place of Âzerbaijân before the advent of Islamism. According to other writers,[2] it was founded by Kai-Khusru at the foot of the mountain of Silân on the side of which stood a fortress called Behman-diz or Rouyin-diz. It was the capture of this fortress which Kai Kaus proposed that Fariburz and Kai-Khusru should make. The one who captured it was promised the kingdom of Irân in inheritance. Kai-Khosru conquered it.[3] This mountain Silân of Yaquot is the same as Mount Savalan or Sabilan near Ardabil, the mountain of Zoroaster's conferences with Ahura Mazda. According to Kazwini also, Ardabil stands at the foot of Mount Sebilan.

We thus see from Mirkhond that he placed the birth-place of Zoroaster in the West, in Âzerbaijân. He represents the prophet as coming down from the mountain of Ardabil after receiving his revelation from God.

Summary.

If we sum up the statements of the above writers, we find well-known Mahomedan writers, like Hamza Isfahani, Maçoudi, Sharastâni, Yaqout, Abulfeda and Mirkhond, place the Home of Zoroaster in Âzerbaijân. Tabari places him in the West and mentions Âzerbaijân as his place of preaching. Hamd-Alla Mustaufi does not directly name any country but he points to the West as Zoroaster's country. He represents Irâq in the West, also as a place of the early activity of Gushtâsp.[4] Of all the above writers, Yaqout is very important, because, he not only places him in Âzerbaijân, but directly points to Urumiâh in Â zerbaijân as his birth-place. Again, he associates three other places in Âzerbaijân with Zoroaster. These are (*a*) Ustunâwend (أستوناوند) which is the same name as Asnavant of the Avesta; (*b*) Shiz, supposed by some to have been an abbreviated and changed form of Chaêchasta; and (*c*) Mah-dinar (also known as Din-i Zardasht). Thus, we see that all the Mahomedan writers speak of the West as Zoroaster's country. Seven of them distinctly

1 Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, p. 21.

2 *Ibid.* Foot-note 1.

3 Mohl. Tome II, p. 549. The Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulûb composed by Hamd-Allâh Mustaufi of Qazvin (1340), translated by G. Le Strange (1919), p. 84.

4 The Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulûb of Hamd-Allâh Mustawfi of Qazvin (340 A. C.), Text by G. Le Strange, pp. 79 and 122, Tanslation, pp. 73 and 94.

speak of Âzerbaijân as his country, and one of them, Yaqout, distinctly speaks of Urumiâh in Âzerbaijân as his birth-place, and even associates other places in Âzerbaijân with his name. I will finish this section by speaking of some other less important later Mahomedan writers, some of whom are referred to in the Shârastân-i Chehâr Chaman.

1 Mahomedan authors referred to in the Shârastân-i Chehâr Chaman.

In the Shârastân-i Chehâr Chaman (شارستان چهار چمن lit. a city of four gardens), written by Behram bin Farhad Aspandyâr Farsi (بهرام بن فرهاد اسپندیار فارسی) [1], we have a long reference to Zoroaster, in the account of the reign of Gushtâsp.

The author flourished in India in the time of Emperor Jehangir. He is said to have been a disciple of Dastur Âzar Kaêvân.[2] The author of the Shârastân refers to some previous Mahomedan writers who had referred to Zoroaster and refutes their misstatements. Among the books of these previous writers, he refers to Tazkarat al avâm (تذکرة العوام)[3] written by Mir Murtaza Elam ul Hada (میر مرتضی علم الهدی) who was a bigoted Mahomedan writer and who found fault with Gushtâsp

1 Manuscript of the Mulla Feroze Library (Catalogue of Rehatzek VIII, 56, p, 204), folio 2a, l. 13. The Mulla Feroze Library has a manuscript translation of this book in Gujarâti from the pen of Dastur Edalji Sanjana. The Ms. was presented to the Library by Mr. Jamshedji Bomanji Wadia in 1914. It is not an exact translation, but a free version with the translator's own comments here and there.

2 Dastur Âzar Kaêvân bin Âzar Gushasp was a learned Zoroastrian priest of Persia. He had a sufeistic bent of mind. He seems to have been attracted to India by the eclectic school of thinkers founded by Akbar. For his lineage, traced from the early Peshdadians, *vide* the Dabistân (Shea and Troyer's Translation. Vol. I, pp. 87-88, 2nd section, describing the Sipâsiân sect, of Chap. I on the Religion of the Pârsiân). He had come to India from Persia with a number of disciples, among whom one was Ferzanah Behram the son of Farhâd, the author of the Sharistân (*Ibid*, p. 77). He had 12 disciples from Persia and he made many disciples in India. He lived in Patna and died there at the age of 85 in 1673 A.C. (*Ibid* p. 89). For an account of his life in the Persian Text, vide pp. 29 et seq. of the Bombay edition of 1262 Hijri. For some particulars about Farzanah Behram, the author of Sharistân-i Chehar Chaman, vide Shea and Troyer's Translation of the Dabistân, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

3 Ms. of the Mulla Feroze Library f. 55b, l. 14. Bombay Lithographed edition of Hijri 1327, p. 154, l. 10.

for following the religion of Zartusht. He refers to another Mahomedan author Tabasar ul awâm (تبصرة العوام)[1], as saying that Zardusht, the prophet of the Magis, was from Âzerbaijân (نبی مجوس از آذربایجان بوده است)[2] and that he lived in Pars (در پارس اقامت داشت).[3] Our author of the Sharistân defends Gushtâsp and Zardusht from the aspersions of these bigoted Musulman writers, and, while doing so, he says that Zardusht was from the city of Rei زردشت از پارس نیست بلکه از شهر ری است[4]. He speaks of a story wherein Zoroaster is represented as resting in a tomb for some time and then re-appearing with Zend and Pazand[5]). . Our author refers to an author Mir Mokhtâr whō said that Zartusht was from Egypt, that he was there with Jeremiah and that from there he went to Âzerbaijân

زردشت در مصر در صحبت ارمیا پیغمبر گذرانیدی...بدیار آذربایگان آمد[6]

The author refutes this statement about Jeremiah and then refers to the spread of the new religion, at the hands of Gushtâsp and to the writing of Zend Avesta on 12000 golden leaves, &c. He then refers to 24,000 Fire-temples founded by Gushtâsp and says, that out of all these, the two best were those of Pars and Âzerbaijân in the province of Marâghé

(بهترین آتشکدها آتشکدهٔ پارس و آذربایجان را در حد مراغه کر از شهرهای قدیم آن ملک است ساختر بودند)[7]

i.e. The best of the Fire-temples—the Fire-temples of Pars and Âzerbaijân—were founded within the limits of Marâghé which is one of the oldest cities of that district.[7]

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1 *Ibid*, f. 55b, l. 16.

2 *Ibid* l. 17. Bombay Ed., p. 154, l. 18.

3 *Ibid*, l. 18. 4 *Ibid*, f. 56a, l. 8 *Ibid*. 5 Bombay Ed., p. 155.

6 *Ibid*, f. 56a, last line, to f. 56b. l. 1. Bombay Ed., p. 156, l. 7.

7 *Ibid*, f. 56b, ll. 13-14. Bombay Ed. (p. 157, l. 8) varies a little in the Text.

8 Dastur Edalji Sanjana, in his above-mentioned Gujarâti version gives the name of Maraghé as Morâe (મોરાએ) f. 238b, last line. This must be an error in the Ms. from which he translated. Maraghé is still known as an important part of the present Persian Âzerbaijân.

The author of the Sharastân-i Chahâr Chaman then refers to a Mahomedan author named Mir Mokhtar (میر مختار) and gives the meaning of the word Âzerbaijân as "the fire (آذر) which gives life (حیات بخش)"

As to the Fire-temple of Pars, he says that no other Fire-temple in Persia was held in such reverence and respect as this. It continued so till the time of the Arabs, who destroyed it.[1]

همیشه سر هزار نفر مغ خدمت می نمودند تا در زمان آمدن لشکر عرب آن آتشکده بسعی عبدالله عمر خراب شد

Translation.—Three thousand Magi persons (*i.e.*, Mobads) always served (at the Fire-temple), till the time of the coming of the army of the Arabs when this fire-temple was desecrated at the instance of Abdulla Omar.

The author of the Sharistân, while speaking on *riâzat* in his account of King Gushtâsp, quotes Mirkhond and other writers. His account in some parts seems to have been copied verbatim from Mirkhond. He says :[2]

در بعضی کتب تازی بر پارسی آمیخته در معجم الآثار و روضة الصفا آورده که زردشت در علم حکمت مهارتی تمام داشت در مبداء حال بصحبت تلامذه ارمیا پیغمبر میدانستر ..... در حدود آذرآبادگان جمعی کثیر بدو گردیدند ,,

Translation.—It is said in several books (written) in Arabic mixed with Persian (*e.g.*), in Mu'ajam al Âsâr and Rauzat-us-

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As said by Prof. Jackson (Persia Past and Present, p. 61), they speak of "a subterranean chamber near Maragha, with a fire altar, as attributed to his (Zoroaster's) worship." According to Ibn Haukal Maragha (مراغه) is at a distance of three farsangs (*i.e.*, about 10 miles) from lake Urumiâh (The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal by Sir W. Ousley, p. 162). According to Hamd-Allah Mustawfi, the people of Maragha spoke "Arabicised Pahlavi," *i. e.*, Pahlavi mixed with Arabic (Pahlavi min 'arrab. Nuzhat-Al Qulûb of Hamd-Allâh Mustaufi of Qazwin by G. Le Strange, Text p. 87, l. 9. *Ibid* Translation, p. 88).

[1] Mulla Feroze Library Text f. 56b., last line. Dastur Edalji Sanjana's Ms. translation, f. 238b, f. 238b., Bombay Ed., p. 157, l.

[2] *Ibid.*

safâ that Zardusht possessed much skill in the learning of philosophy. In the beginning, he was into the companionship (and) pupilage of Prophet Irmiah (Jeremiah).....Many people within the limits of Azarbadgan were inclined towards him.

The Sharistân-i Chehar Chaman then says, that Gushtâsp, hearing of the fame of Zardusht, went to him from Balkh, and, through the exertion of Asfandiar, entered into his religion and got his teachings written on 12000 cow skins.[1] He does not give in his account the name of Istakhar, which Mirkhond gives as the city where the King and the Prophet met and where the writings were deposited, but gives instead, the word مقر *maqr* which means "Seat of Government."[2]

Zoroaster and Jeremiah.

The above statement of Zoroaster being a pupil of Jeremia is given in the Sharistân-i Chehâr Chaman, on the authority of a writer named Mir Mokhtâr of Tehran (میر مختار طهرانی) in his Makhzan al Akhbâr. (مخزن الاخبار)[3]. But the author himself refutes the story. He says:

در مخزن‌الاخبار کہ از تصانیف میر مختار طهرانی است آورده کہ زردشت در مصر در صحبت ارمیا پیغمبر گذرانیدی جمیع علوم را ازان پیغمبر برحق یاد گرفتہ بود کمال حاصل کرده خصوص در علوم غریبہ چون کیمیا و لیمیا کہ صاحب قدرت بود چون بدیار آذربایگان آمد چندگاه بسر برد بعد ازان خود را بملازمت شهریار زمان گشتاسپ رسانید

Translation.—It is said in the Makhzan al Akhbâr which is (one) of the writings of Mir Mokhtâr, that Zardusht lived in Egypt in the company of the prophet Irmiah (Jeremiah). He had learnt properly many sciences from that prophet. He had acquired (their knowledge) well. He was especially well-versed in the rare sciences of alchemy and (limyâ). When he came to

[1] *Ibid*, p. 161, ll. 11-14. [2] Bombay Ed., p. 161, last line.

[3] شارستان چهار چمن Ms. of the Mulla Feroz Library f. 56a last line. *Vide* the Gujârati Ms. of the version of the book by Dastur Edalji Sanjana in the Mulla Feroze Library f. 235a. Bombay Ed. op. cit., p. 156, l. 6.

the country of Âzerbaijân, he passed there some time, and then, he placed himself under the services of the king of the time, Gushtâsp.

Mir Mokhtâr is then reported to say that it was by this knowledge of the rare sciences of Alchemy, &c., that he performed miracles in the court of Gushtâsp and won him over to his new religion. Behram Farhad, the writer of the Sharistân-i Chehâr Chaman, refutes these statements at some length.

Tabari[1] also, as said above, refers to this story of Zoroaster's association with Aziz, which was a tittle of Jeremiah, and says that he learnt from him Magic and Poetry. According to Prof. Jackson,[2] "The Syriac writer, Gregorius Bar Ebhrâyâ (about A.D. 1250) in his Arabic Chronicon, p. 83 (ed. Salhani Beirut, 1890) says that he was a disciple of Elijah." Prof. Jackson refers to the story, and explains how it may have arisen. He says: "Two or three Arabic authors allude to Zoroaster as being of Palestinian origin, and that he came from that land to Âdarbaijân; and they proceed to identify him with Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah. This confusion is presumably due to their having confounded the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah, Armiah (ارمیه) with Zoroaster's supposed native place, Urumiah, Urmiah (اُرمیه).[3]

2. Dabistân. Its authority of a Naosari priest.

The Persian Dabistân, whose author[4] lived from about 1615 to 1670, says that, according to general belief, Zoroaster came from Azerbaijân. We read:

درمیان مردم مشهور است کر زردشت اذرآبادگانی است اما غیر بر دینیان گویند و نامبر نگار از موبد تررو کر نوساوری من اعمال گجرات وطن اوست شنیده کر مواد زرتشت و آبادی نام دارش شهر ریست[5]

1 Tabari par Zotenberg, I. p. 499.

2 Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 201.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 197-98.

4 Mohsan Fani was said to be the author of this book. *Vide* for the question of the authorship and for the author's time, the Dabistan translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer (1843), Vol. I, Preliminary Discourse by Troyer pp. X-XV.

5 Bombay Edition of 1264 Hijri, p. 86, l 4.

Translation.—It is well known among men, that Zardusht is an Âzarâbâdgâni (*i.e.*, an inhabitant of Azarbâdgân). But the non-Behdins (*i.e.*, non-Zoroastrians) say—and the writer of (this) book has heard from Mobad Tarrav whose native place is Naosaori (Naosari) in the Government of Gujarât—that the birth-place of Zartusht and the habitation (âbâdi) of his illustrious forefathers (nâm-dârash)[1] is the city of Rai.

Shea and Troyer's translation runs as follows :[2]

"It is generally reported that Zardusht was of Azarbadgân or Tabruz[3]; but those who are not *Behdinians* or 'true believers', assert, and the writer of this work has also heard from the Mobed Torru of Busâwâri, in Gujarât, that the birth-place and distinguished ancestors of the prophet belong to the city of Rai."[4]

We find from this translation, that the text of the Dabistan which Shea and Troyer have followed, gives the name of the Gujarât town نوساوری Naosaori (Naosari) as Busawari بوساوری, This reading takes the *unkteh* to be below the word, instead of above the word, as given in the Bombay edition which I have followed. In the Bombay edition, the first letter of the name of the town is clearly ن nun. There is no town in Guzarât of the name Busâwari. So, evidently, the name is miswritten in the edition followed by the above translators.

Again, the name of the informant given as زررو, both, in these translators' edition and in the Bombay edition which I have followed, is not a familiar name. It does not seem to be the name of a Parsee Mobad or priest. So, taking the town to be Naosaori, as given in the Bombay edition, the name seems to have been miswritten for برزو Barzo, which is a Parsee name. The same word, read as Torro, can, with a change in the *nuktehs*, be read as Burzo.

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1 Nâm-dâr may mean, those bearing the name of Zartusht, *i.e.*, his successors, known latterly as Zarathushtro-temas. Or the phrase, "âbâdi nâmdârsh", may mean "illustrious posterity". The word âbâdi, *i.e.*, "prosperity" means "prosperity of progeny".

2 The Dabistan, translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. I, p. 263.

3 The above quoted Bombay edition does not give this name. Perhaps this name is Tabriz, the modern capital of Azerbaijân.

4 "Rai is the most northern town of the province Jebal or Irak Ajem, the country of the ancient Parthians" (Anthony Troyer, The Dabistan by Shea and Troyer, p. 204, n. 1.)

Now, the time when Mohsan Fani, flourished is about 1615 to 1670,—the time of the reigns of Jehangir (1605-27), Shah Jehan (1627-66) and Aurangzeb (1666-1707). So, it seems that the person Barzo may be the well-known compiler of the Persian Rivâyat, known as the Rivâyat of Barzo Kamdin, who lived at this time.[1] We learn from various Parsee sources that his name occurred either as a signatory or as a person addressed, in various documents bearing dates of years 1626, 1627, 1649, 1670.[2] So, it seems to be evident that the Barzo of Naosaori, mentioned in the Dabistan, is the well-known Barzo Kamdin who flourished from about the beginning of the 17th century up to some time after 1670 A.C. We thus see that the author of the Dabistan, says, on the authority of others, and among them of Barzo (Kamdin) of Naosari, that the birthplace of Zoroaster was Raê in Âzerbaijân.

A badly written manuscript of the Dabistan seems to have misled, as we will see below, a later writer, as it did in misleading Shea and Troyer to take the name of a town in Guzarat as Busâwâri instead of Naosâri.

3. Nameh-i Farâzastân. Its reference to Naosari as the birth place of Zoroaster

In a recent work on the ancient history of Persia, entitled Nameh-i Farâzastân (نامہ فرازستان), we read (on p. 234, l. 5 et seq) as follows :

چو زراتشت در پورساوری از شهرهای گجرات بجهان
هستی خرامید در آغاز زادن خندید چنانچہ همسایگان آوا
خندهٔ اورا شنیدند

1 After writing the above, I find with pleasure that I am preceded in this view by Prof. Shapurshaw Hormusji Hodiwala who has suggested the name in his learned work "Studies in Parsee History", published in 1920 (p. 93).

2 *Vide* Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12, 14 and 16.

3 From *farâz*, before. Like the word Bâstân, the word Farâzastân seems to mean "old, ancient." So, the name Nâmeh-i Farâzastân seems to be the same as Bâstân-nâmeh *i.e.* The History of the Ancients. It appears from the preceding foreword, that the late Mr. Maneckji Limji Hataria, who had lived long in Persia, as the Agent of the Bombay Parsees, to look after the welfare of the Zoroastrians of Persia, had requested a learned person of Persia, named Mirza Ismail Khan, to write a History of the ancient Persians. It was written as desired, but, both, Mr. M. L. Hataria and the author died without seeing it published. So, Mr. Hormazdyâr bin Behrâm Bahman Jamshed got it published at Bombay on roz Hormazd, mah Aban 1252.

Translation.—When Zaratusht walked (into) existence (*i.e.* appeared in this world), in (the city of) Pursaoari, (one) of the cities of Guzarat, he laughed at the commencement on birth, to such an extent, that the people in the neighbourhood heard the voice of his laughing.

Thus, this book speaks of Guzarat as the country of Zoroaster. Now, there is no town in Guzarat of the name of Pûrsâoari (پورساوری). So, as in the case of the name in the edition of the Dabistan followed by its translators Shea and Troyer, here also, the name is misspelt and misread. It is Naosâoari (Naosari). So, taking the name of the town as Naosaoari or Naosari, we find that this book says that Zoroaster was born in the town of Naosari in Guzarat.

One may find it astounding to learn that even Gujarat in India is referred to by a writer as the birthplace of Zoroaster and he may find it difficult to account for this astonishing statement. But, I think, we are in a position to see how such a statement has come to be made. It is the Dabistân passage, above referred to, that seems to have led the writer to make this astounding statement.

(*a*) First of all, the name of the city seems to have been mis-written in various manuscripts of the Dabistân. The Ms., which Shea and Troyer used, gives as said above, the name as Baosâori (بوساوری). The lithographed copy, which I possess, gives the name somewhat correctly as Naosaori (نوساوری). To be more correct, the second wâv (و) is not necessary. It seems, that the writer of this recent book, either had, in his manuscript, the word with the first letter marked with three nuktehs *below*, instead of one of Shea and Troyer's Ms., and instead of one nukteh *above* as in the Ms. of the lithographed text which I have followed; and so, he read the word as Pursawari; or, he, by mistake misread the word.

(*b*) Secondly, as to his making the city of Guzarat—whether it be Baosâoari, or Naosâoari or Pûrsâori, the birth-place of Zoroaster, I think, that he misread the last two words, which are شهر ریست (Shehr-i Rai ast) as شهراست *Shehr ast i. e.* is the city. I confess, that I myself at first found it a little difficult to read the words, and, had it not been for Shea and Troyer's translation, perhaps, I also would have been misled in some other way. A good copyist would separate

the last word as رى است (Raê ast). So, I think, the writer of the Nâmeh-i Farâzastân, while trying to draw his information from the Dabistân, was misled by not finding the name of the city of Raê given separately in his copy of the Dabistân, and he mixed up what was said about Raê as Zoroaster's birth-place with Naosari, a city of Guzarat.

4. A Persian Dictionary Kashf-ul-Lughât.

Dastur Hoshang Jamasp quotes the Persian Dictionary Kashf-ul-laghât (كشف اللغات) as saying, that Zoroaster was an Âzerbaijani, *i.e.* an inhabitant of Âzer-baijân. It says:

گویند زرتشت آذربیجانی صاحب مذهب اباحت بود

i.e. "It is said that Zoroaster of Âzerbaijân was the master of an acceptable religion."[1]

5. Irân-nâmeh.

The most recent Mahomedan writer on the History of ancient Persia is Mirza Abbas bin Mahmadali Shustari, who has published in 1925, the first volume of his work, entitled "Iran-nâmeh."[2] The author has, at first, followed the Pahlavi writings, like that of the Zâdsparam, and has represented Zoroaster, as coming to Balkh crossing the river Dâiti. Then he refers to the difference of opinions about the birth-place and says:

ممکن است زردشت در بلخ بود دو نفر دیگر بهمان اسم در آذرآبادگان و ری ظهور کرده‌اند

Translation.—It is possible that, there was a Zardusht in Balkh and two other personages of the same name had appeared in Âzarâbâdgân and Raê.[3]

I refer to this most recent writer to give one an idea, how, up to now, attempts have been made to explain the variety of names, suggested as those of the birth place of the Prophet.

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[1] Vendidâd, Vol. II, Glossarial Index, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp (1907) p. 39; *vide* the word "Ataropâdgân."

[2] ایران نامه یا کارنامه ایرانیان باستان گرد آورده میرزا عباس ابن محمد علی شوستری سنه ۱۹۲۵

The author is Professor of Persian in the College of the Mahârâja of Mysore.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 65, ll. 4-5.

XII.

(G) ÂTAROPÂTAKAN OR ÂZERBAIJÂN. IN WHICH PART OF THIS COUNTRY DID ZOROASTER'S BIRTH TAKE PLACE? IN THE DISTRICT OF MOUNT ASNAVANT AND LAKE CHAÊCHÂSTA, THE MODERN URUMIAH.

In our inquiry, we have, so far, extended, as it were, our vision step by step from a small place to a large place—from the House of Pourushaspa to the province of Âzerbaijân. But we have not as yet, been able to locate the house. To do so, we have now to narrow or reduce the field of our vision,—from a province to a town—to trace therein the birth-place of Zoroaster. We have not as yet pointed to any direct statement in reply to the question: "Where in Âtâropâtakân or Âzerbaijân was the house situated?

We have a statement in a Pahlavi book, which directly answers the question and names a town in Âzarbaizân as Zoroaster's place. But, before coming to that book, we will prepare our way by examining a number of indirect statements or references which point to the district of Mt. Asnavant and Lake Chaêchast as the place of Zoroaster. So, I will first speak of Mount Asnavant and its connection with Zoroaster, and then of Lake Chaêchasta. I will speak in the following order:

1. Mount Asnavant.
2. Lake Chaêchasta.
3. The Relation between the two.

1. Mount Asnavant.

Mountains, seats of Zoroaster's Consultation with Higher Powers.

According to the Pahlavi books, the Dinkard[1] and the Zâdsparam,[2] Zoroaster had seven consultations or conferences (ham-pursagih) with the seven Ameshâspands. According to the Zâdsparam (Chap. XXII),[3] the first consultation with Ahura Mazda was on the bank of

[1] Book VII, Chap. III, 46-60. West, S. B. E., XLVII, pp. 46-50.

[2] Chap. XXII. West, S. B. E., *Ibid.*, pp. 159-62.

[3] Vichitakihâ-i Zâtsparam, by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 85, Chap. XXIII.

the river Dâiti (𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 𐬛 𐬙𐬀𐬵 𐬛 𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌); the second with Vohuman on the mountain of Hûgar (𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬵) and Ausind (𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙); the third with Arta Vahishta on Tôjân water (𐬙𐬵 𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌); the fourth with Shatvir (Shehrivar at Sarâi (𐬛𐬀𐬛𐬛), which is a town on Mivân (𐬌𐬙𐬵); the fifth with Spendomat on a spring (khânîk) 𐬛𐬌𐬙 which come out from Mount Asnavad (𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬛); the sixth with Khordad at the Asnavad mountain; and the seventh with Amerdad on the high ground of Darêja (𐬛𐬀𐬵𐬌 𐬎𐬀𐬵) on the bank of the Daitya (𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 𐬛 𐬙𐬀𐬵 𐬛 𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬙𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬵 𐬎𐬀𐬵). All the places named here are in Âtarôpâtakân. I think that the Mountain Ausind (𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬙) mentioned above, in the account of the second conference, viz., that with Vohumano, may also be a mis-written form of Asnavant.

1. Mount Asnavant, the seat of Zoroaster's consultations with the Higher Powers.

In the above statement, a mountain named Asnavant is one of the places, where Zoroaster had his converse, his consultation (ham-pursagih), his conference with Ahura Mazda and His Ameshâ-Spentas. In the examination of this question, the Pahlavi books are more useful than the Avesta. However, we will, (A) at first, see, what the Avesta books say of Mount Asnavant and (B) then, we will examine the Pahlavi books.

(A) MT. ASNAVANT IN THE AVESTA.

We have the mention of Mount Asnavant (𐬀𐬯𐬥𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬙) in the Avesta in the following four places:

(*a*) The Zamyâd Yasht.

(*b* & *c*) The Greater and the Smaller Sirouzâhs.

(*d*) The Âtash Niyâish.

(a) The Zamyâd Yasht. Mountains and Kharênangh.

Mt. Asnavant is mentioned in the list of mountains in the Zaṁyâd Yasht. This Yasht consists of two subjects: (1) The list of the mountains of the then known Iranian world and (2) The Kharenangh.

1. It is said that there are 2,244 mountains. We read at the end of the list (Yt. XIX 7)

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬙𐬀 𐬀𐬯𐬥𐬌𐬯

i.e., There have grown up other mountains from the Elbourz, numbering two thousand two hundred and forty-four.

Out of these 2,244 mountains, the Zamyâd Yasht names about 52 principal ones. It seems, that the first Meridian of the Iranians passed through Mount Taêra which stands 48th in the list.[1] It is said to have 180 raozin (رۆزن) *i.e.*, windows or apertures, corresponding to our "degrees" on both sides.[2] In this list of 52 mountains referred to by name, one is Asnavant. It is 36th in the list.

The Kharênangh. Its seat in Mountains.

2. The second subject treated by the Zamyâd Yasht, after the enumeration of the mountains, is *Kharênangh, i.e.* the Glory or Halo possessed by the great worthies of Iran. The Iranian *Kharênangh* has, like the Iranian Fravashi or Farohar, a peculiar signification. While the Fravashi is possessed by all living beings, from Ahura Mazda down to the vegetable world, the *Kharênangh* is possessed only by men and the Higher Powers. Even Ahura Mazda and his Immortal Ameshaspands have their *Kharênangh*. The *Kharênangh* of Ahura Mazda is like the "Gloria in Excelcis" or Glory to God in the Highest, of St. Luke (II. 14). All men have a kind of *Kharênangh*, halo or glory, but the great men of a country have a peculiar brilliant *Kharênangh*. It is the halo painted round the faces of prophets, seers and other great men by the artists. I think that the following words of Prof. Darmesteter give a good idea of the Iranian *Kharênangh* : "Le Hvarenô.....est le principe céleste qui donne à celui qui en est investi la puissance, la virtu, la génie, le bonheur : c'est la fortune divine. C'est par lui que les rois sont rois : quand un roi est renversé, c'est que le Hvarenô l'a abandonné."[3]

Now, the reason, why the *Kharênangh* or Glory of the great men of Iran is associated with mountains in the Zamyâd Yasht, seems to be threefold :

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[1] *Vide* my Gujarâti Essay on the "Geography of the Avesta" in my અવસ્તા ગ્રંથોની ઘર સંસારી ભૂંડણી, ભૂગોળ અને એકરારનામું, p. 177.

[2] For some accounts of these mountains, *vide* my Gujartâi Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names. *Vide* p. 93 for Taêra and p. 21 for Asnavant.

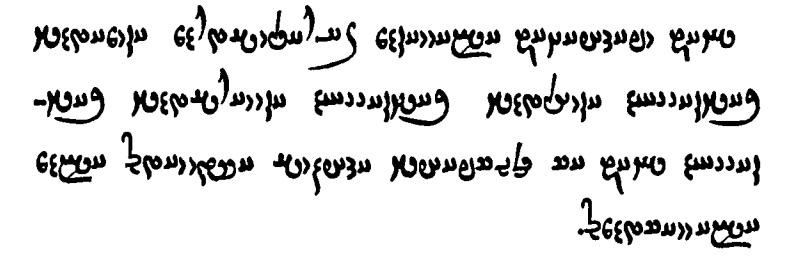
[3] Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II, p. 615. *i. e.* The Khareno is the source which gives to him who is invested with it, power, virtue, genius, good fortune ; it is divine fortune. It is by it that the kings are kings : when a king is overthrown, it is because the Khareno has abandoned him.

(1) The *Kharênangh* or Glory or Halo is a kind of Divine Light. The Sun is the source of all Light, and poets and great writers among various nations have associated the sun with mountains. The sun, rising from the summits of mountains, gives, as it were, the idea of the mountains being the seat of the Sun. The words, *Kharênangh* and *khûr* (Khurshed, Sun), come from the same root, khar Sans. खर् to shine.

(2) The Kharênangh, the halo is a divine gift; and divine thoughts are often associated with high mountains. There is, as it were, something, on the other side of mountains, above the mountains, which is unseen, something mysterious, which is associated with the idea of God. [1]

(3) The Glory of Kings is allegorically associated with the Sun and with mountains. The Glory of the kingdom of Iran, the Glory of the Iranian king, is associated with mountains. Abu Fazal, in his Âin-i Akbari, speaks of Royalty as a ray of the Sun. [2]

Now, after the list of the enumeration of mountains in the Zamyâd Yasht, there follows a list of the great worthies of Iran who, one after another, possessed, more or less, the Iranian Glory, the Glory of the country of Iran. Among the recipients of this *Kharênangh*, this Divine glory, one is Zarathushtra (Yt. XIX, 79). It was by virtue of its possession, that Zoroaster thought, spoke and acted in the matter of the promulgation of his new religion. We read:



Translation.—Which (Kayânian *Kharênangh*) associated itself with Holy Zarathushtra, whereby he thought according to

1 *Vide* my Paper in Gujarâti on "*Kharênangh* or Khoreh" in my "Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects" Part II, pp. 161-77.

2 Bengal Asiatic Society's Edition of the Âin-i Akbari, by Blochmann Vol. I, p. 2, ll. 22-23.

Daêna (*i.e.* according to thoughts suggested by Religion), he spoke according to Daêna, he acted according to Daêna. Thereby he was, in the whole of the corporeal world, the Holiest in Holiness.

Thus, in the Zamyâd Yasht, we find Zoroaster as one who had acquired Divine Glory, the seat of which was, as it were, in the mountains. Among these mountains, one was Asnavant.

In the Sirozâ Yasht (I. 9 ; II, 9), with the invocation of the Holy Fire are associated the invocations of Mt. Asnavant, Lake Chaêchasta and the Kayânian *Kharênangh*, referred to above. This association of ideas, suggest (*a*) the association of the Divine Glory, acquired, among others, by Zarathushtra with Mt. Asnavant and (*b*) the association of the mountain with a lake named Chaêchasta.

(*b*) The smaller and (*c*) the larger Sirouza and (*d*) Âtash Nyâish.

But, after all, these are, as it were, distant suggestive references. In the Avesta, there is no direct connection of Zoroaster with Mt. Asnavant. But the Pahlavi books point to this direct connection.

(B) MOUNT ASNAVANT IN PAHLAVI BOOKS.

In some Paḥlavi books, we find a closer association of Zoroaster with Mt. Asnavant. We find direct references to the fact, that Mt. Asnavant was the seat of some of Zoroaster's consultations (hampûrsagih) or conferences with the Higher Powers.

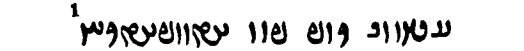
We find Mt. Asnavant referred to three times in the Bundehesh : (*a*) It is first referred to in a long list of the mountains in the chapter on the "Nature of Mountains" (Chegunih-i Kufân, Chap. XII). All the mountains are said to have grown up out of earth in 18 years (Chap. XII 1. Cf. pavan hasht-deh shant hamâk barâ kuf min zamik madam rûst humand. Chap. VIII 5),[1] but the Elbourz took 800 years to grow up to perfection. (Albourz val bûndagih hasht sad shant hamâk rûst Chap. XII, 1) [2]. Then the Bundehesh adds that 2,244 mountains form the long range of the Elbourz, and Asnavant is one of these.

1. The Bundehesh.

[1] My Text and Translation in Gujarâti of the Bundehesh, p. 32. West, S. B. E. Vol. V. Ch. VIII, 5 p. 30 Justi, p. 19, l. 15. Westergaard's Ed., p. 19, l. 5. Unvala's Lith. Ed. p. 22, l. 14.

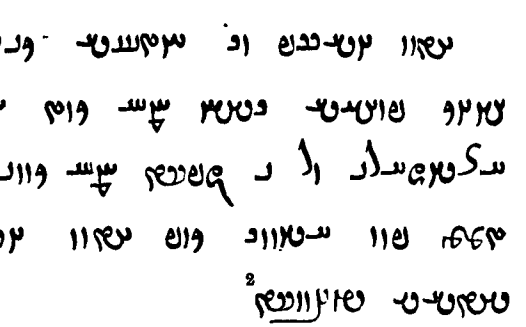
[2] *Ibid* p. 36. Justi's Ed., p. 21, l. 12. West, S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 34, Westergaard, p. 21, l. 11. Unvala's Lith. Ed., p. 25, l. 8.

(*b*) Then, as to its situation, the Bundehesh says that it is in Âzerbaijân. We read :

 [1]

i.e. Mt. Asnavand (is) in Âtarôpâtakân.

(*c*) Then, in the chapter on Fire (Chap. XVII, 7) Mt. Asnavant is spoken of as the seat of the Sacred Fire of Âzar Gushâsp, founded by king Kai-khosru, when he was destroying idol-worship on the banks of lake Chaêchasta. We read :

 [2]

Translation.—Âtar Gushâsp was thus protecting the world up to the time of the sovereignty of Kaikhusro. When Kaikhusro destroyed (lit. dug out) the idol-houses on lake Chaechasta.....at the very same place, on the Asnavand mountain, he put up the Fire Gushâsp in its proper place.

These passages of the Bundehesh are very important for two reasons. (1) Firstly, the first passage points to Âzerbaijân as the place of Mt. Asnavant. (2) Secondly, the second passage associates Mount Asnavand with lake Chaêchasta. We saw above, that the Avesta (Sirozâh and Âtash Nyâish) also pointed to such an association.

2. The Zadsparam.

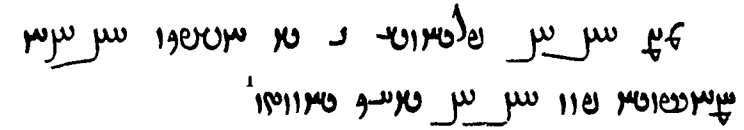
The Pahlavi book, which comes to our help in directly associating Zoroaster with Mt. Asnavant, is the Zâdsparam. The first eleven chapters of the book are, as said by Dr. West,[3] something like a paraphrase of most of the first 17 chapters of the

1 Justi's Bundehesh, p. 24, l. 2.

2 Justi's Bundehesh, p. 41, ll. 13-18.

3 S. B. E. Vol. V, Introduction, p. XLVIII.

Bundehesh, but the second part (Chap. XII-XXIII) forms, like the seventh book of the Dinkârd, the Pahlavi Zarthushtnâmeh. In this part, we find two references to Mt. Asnavant in Chapter XXII which bears the heading,



[1]

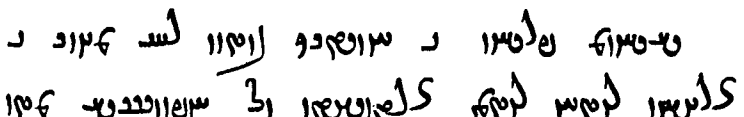
i.e. "On seven consultations[2] about religious matters,[3] with seven Ameshâspands (which) took place at seven places.

In this chapter, we have an account of Zoroaster's consultations or conferences with the seven Ameshâspands at different places. Out of these conferences, two, the fifth and the sixth, with Spendârmad and Khordâd, are at Mt. Asnavant.

(*a*) As to the fifth conference, that with Spendârmad, I have given the original passage above (sec. VII). So, I will give here again only the translation : We read :

"For the fifth questioning (or conference *parashna*), which was with Spendomad, the spirits (mînô) of the regions and quarters and stations and towns (rutastâkân) and villages (matâan), as many as required, went with Zarthusht to the consultation (ham-pursagih) at the place ..... where there is a spring (khâni) which comes from the Asnavad mountain and goes to the Dâiti."

(*b*) As to the sixth conference with Khordad, the passage runs thus :[4]



[1] Vichîtakîhâ-i Zâdsparam, by Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria, p. 85, ll. 3-4.

[2] Prashnoih, lit. Questioning.

[3] Andâz, opinion.

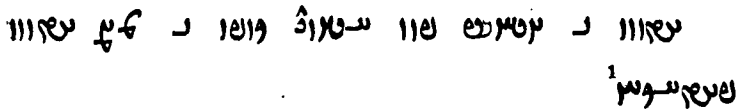
[4] Vichitakiha-i Zadsparam, edited by B. T. Anklesaria, p. 88, ll. 6-8.

Translation.—For the sixth questioning, which was with Khordâd, the Spirit of the sea and rivers had gone with Zarthust to the consultation on the Asnavad mountain.

These two passages are very important. They directly associate Mt. Asnavant with Zoroaster, as one of the places of his Divine meditation, his converse with the Higher Powers, who inspired him and who revealed to him his new religion. Again, one of these passages associates the river Dâiti, which, as we saw above, both, on the authority of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books, flowed in the home-land of Zarathushtra, with Mt. Asnavant.

Thus then, we learn from the indirect references in the Avesta and the direct references of the Pahlavi Zâdsparam, that the house of Zoroaster was in that part of Âzerbaijân where stood Mt. Asnavant from which flowed an affluent of the Dâiti. The affluent may be the Darêja.

(c) There is a third reference also in the early part of the Zâdsparam. It does not directly associate Mt. Asnavand with Zoroaster, but it associates it with the Fire Gushâsp, established by Kaikhosru (on lake Chaechasta). It also places the mountain in Âzerbaijân. We read:



[1]

i.e. The Fire Gushâsp (is) on Mt. Asnavant which is in Âtarôpâtakân.

This passage is important in this, that it associates Mt. Asnavant, which the writer places in Âzerbaijân, with the Fire Gushâsp, which, we know was established by king Kaikhosru on lake Chaêchasta.

We have seen so far, that Zoroaster's very early life, before he promulgated his religion, was spent in the vicinity of Asnavant mountain which is in Âzerbaijân. But much of our work would be made easy if we could distinctly identify Mt. Asnavant with any known mountain of Persia. Geographical names so often change their forms while coming down from age to age, that, at times, it is difficult to identify ancient places. But this mountain is associated in the Avesta (Sirozâ Yasht s. 9. Âtash Nyâish &c.) with lake Chaêchasta and with King

[1] *Ibid*, p. 42, ll. 13-14. Its Chap. IV, 85.

Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru). This lake was a place of prayers for Iranian kings and personages even before Zoroaster. So, let us proceed to determine further the question of the site of Mt. Asnavant with the help of this fact of its association with Chaêchasta. We will, therefore, see what is said of Chaêchasta in our Books.

(2) LAKE CHAÊCHASTA.

I will examine what is said of it (A) first in the Avesta books and then (B) in the Pahlavi books.

(A) LAKE CHAÊCHASTA IN THE AVESTA.

Lake Chaêchasta(𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀) or Chaêchista(𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬯𐬀) is mentioned several times in the Avesta. It is mentioned as the place of the prayers of some great men of Iran.

(*a*) Haoma, a pious person, living on its shores, prays to Dravâsp, for the boon of being able to capture Frangrasiâna (Afrâsiâb), in order to hand him over to Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru), to be punished by him for his having murdered Siâvakhsh, the father of Kaikhosru. Haoma's prayer runs thus (Gosh Yasht, Yt. IX 18):

𐬌𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬌𐬀𐬥

In this passage, the adjectives, deep (jafra) and broad-watered (urvyâpa) applied to the lake, are significant. I will refer to them later on.

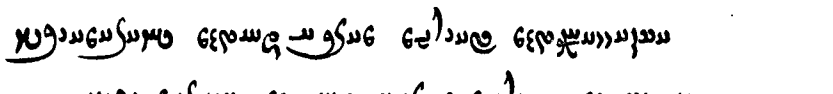
(*b*) There is an exactly similar prayer of the same Haoma in the Ashi Yasht (Yt. XVII, 38).

(*c*) We learn from the Âbân Yasht (Yt. V 49-50), that King Kaikhosru prayed on this lake for victory against an enemy.

(*d*) King Kaikhosru prayed on the shores of this lake for victory over Afrasiâb, in revenge for the murder of his father (Gosh Yasht, Yt. IX, 21).

(*e*) We find Kaikhosru saying a similar prayer in the Ashi Yasht (Yt. XVII, 42).

(*f*) But the passages most important for our purpose, as we will see later on, are the passages of the Sirouzâh Yasht, where this lake is associated, not only with Kaikhosru, but also with a mountain named Asnavant. We read (Siroza, 9).



Translation.—We invoke the Asnavant mountain created by God. We invoke the lake Chaêchista created by God.

(*g*) Similar is the invocation in the beginning of the Âtash Nyâish (s. 5.)

We thus see, that Asnavant mountain is closely related with Lake Chaêchista.

(B) LAKE CHAÊCHASTA IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

This lake is referred to several times in the Pahlavi books.

1. The Dinkârd.

The Dinkârd[1] twice refers to the Lake Chaêchasta as the seat of idol-worship destroyed by Kaikhosru.

[1] Dastur Dorâbji's Dinkârd, Vol. XIII, p. 15. Book VII, Introduction 39. West, S. B. E.; Vol. XLVII, p. 14. Bk. VII, Chap. I, 39. Madon's Ed., Vol II., p. 598. ll 20-21.

(a) 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎 ..... 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬛 𐬛𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬉𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎
𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 𐬉𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬉𐬀 𐬉𐬀𐬌𐬯
𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯 𐬛 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎

Translation.—The Glory reached Kaikhosru (the son) of Siâvkhsh . . . . . and it joined (âyûkht) him in the destruction (makhituntan) and breakage of the idol-houses which were on the shores of the Lake Chaêchasta which formed a strange (seat of) falsehood (darujih).

(*b*) The Dinkârd (Bk. IX, Chap. XXIII, 6) again speaks of Chaêchasta as the place of idols destroyed by Kaikhosru. It says that Soshyans held Kaikhosru in esteem for this work.

𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 𐬉𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎 𐬛 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬉𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎
𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 𐬉𐬀 𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬛 𐬉𐬀 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬎 𐬛 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎
𐬀 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬀𐬌𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬛𐬀𐬌𐬯[1]

Translation.—The raising in esteem by Soshyos of Kaikhosru on his destroying what were idol-temples on the shore of the Lake Chaêchasta and on his smiting the magician Frasiâv.

These passages are important in as much as they refer to the event of the establishment of the Fire Gushâsp referred to in the statements about Asnavand, given above.

2. The Bundehesh.

(*a*) In the seventh chapter (s. 14) of the Bundehesh, we have an account of some extraordinary phenomena of Nature which are spoken of as *ardab* (P. اردب) *i.e.*, conflict or attack. In this account, there is a reference to a great convulsion or phenomenon, lasting for three days, with powerful wind (vât), whereby three great seas and twenty-three small seas (tartâ zareh-i mas va bishto sé zareh-i kas) were formed. In addition to these, two sources (of water *chashmê*) were formed. One of these was the lake Chaêchasta and another Sôvbar.

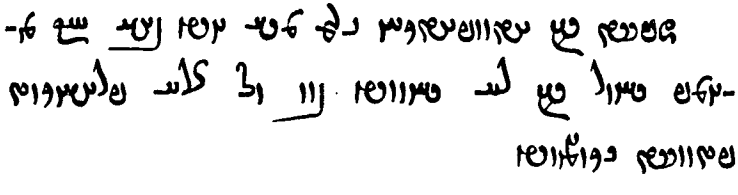
[1] Ibid, Vol. XVII, p. 64, ll. 11 t seq. Bk. IX, Ch. XXII, 5. West. S. B. E., XXXVII, p. 225, Chap XXIII, 5. Madon's Ed., Vol. II. p. 818, l. 6.

(*b*) King Kaikhosru is spoken of as destroying idolatry on its shores and as founding the sacred fire, Adar Goshâsp, in its vicinity (Chap. XVII, 7). This passage of the Bundehesh explains the above Avesta passage of the Sirouzâ Yasht and the Âtash Nyâish as to why, there, the lake and the king and the mountain Asnavant (said to be the seat of the sacred fire) are associated together.

(*c*) The lake is said to be 50 farsangs distant from the lake Husrav, which is identified by some with lake Van (Chap. XXII, 8).

(*d*) A range of mountains called Asparoj (𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬌𐬭𐬎) is spoken of as extending from lake Chaêchasta to the country of Pars (Chap. XII, 36). Dr. West takes this range to be the mountain range of Western Persia of which Mount Zagros of the Classical writers formed a part.

(*e*) The Bundehesh thus speaks of this lake in its chapter on *varhâ i.e.*, lakes (Chap. XXII, 2).[1]



Translation.—Chaêchasta is in Âtarôpâtakân. Its waters are warm[2], (rendering people) free from injury wherein no living thing (mandavamich) exists. Its source is connected with the sea Farakhôkant.

Thus, the 22nd chapter of the Bundehesh places this Chaêchasta lake in Âzerbaijân.

3. The Zâdsparam.

The Pahlavi Zâdsparam (Chap. VI, 22) also refers to an extraordinary natural phenomenon referred to, as said above, in the Bundehesh, and says, that the lake was the result of that phenomenon. It adds that the lake is free from cold

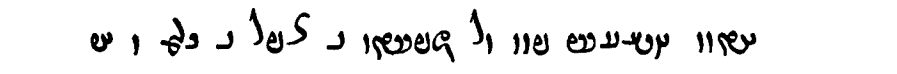
[1] Justi's Ed. p. 55, l. 11. The chapters referred to here are those of West, S. B. E., Vol. V.

[2] Medicinal if we take word to be *darmân*.

wind (la sarmô vâd) and on its shore (bâr) sits the victorious Fire Gushâsp[1]. This para then gives us some further information *viz.*, that the Sacred fire, Fire Gushâsp founded by Kaikhosru was founded on its shore.

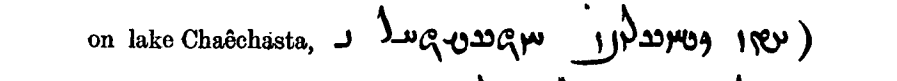
4. The Bahman Yasht.

The Bahman Yasht says: There are some, who (have said),[2] that Adargoshasp is on (the shore of) lake Chaêchasta which is deep and hot and has waters free from harm (shedâ).



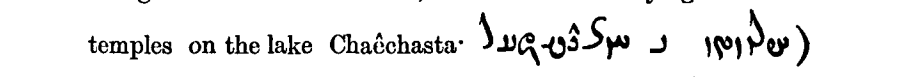
5. The Minokherad.

(*a*) The Minokherad, referring to Idol worship, speaks of Kaikhosru as destroying idol temples on the shore of this lake. It adds that, had Kaikhosru not destroyed idol-houses on lake Chaêchasta,



the work of the future apostles would have been very difficult.[3]

(*b*) It refers to the same fact further on[4] and includes among the good acts of Kaikhosru, the act of destroying the idol-temples on the lake Chaêchasta·



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[1] West, S. B. E. Vol. V, p. 173. Behramgore T. Anklesaria's Text, Vichîtakihâ-i Zâdsparam, Chap. III, 24, p. 27, l. 2, n. 3.

[2] Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad's Zand-i Vohuman Yasht p. 14, l. 9. West, S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 218, Chap. III. 10.

[3] T. D. Anklesaria's Edition with my Introduction, p. 19, l. 2; West S. B. E., Vol. XXIV, p. 15, Chap. II, 95. Dastur Dorabji's Text, p. 9, l. 9. Andreas's Ed. p. 10, l. 2; West's Pazend-Sanscrit Ed., p. 8.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 92, l. 7. West, Chap. XXVII, 61. Andreas's Ed., p. 31, l. 11; Dastur Dorabji's Ed. p. 47, l. 7.

Summary of statements.

If we summarise what is said above, about Chaêchasta, we gather the following facts:

1. It was a place of prayers for Kig Kaikhosru and Haoma.

2. It was a place, in the sequestered parts of which King Frasiâv (Afrasiâb) had concealed himself for some time.

3. It was situated in the vicinity of Mount Asnavant.

4. There was in it a seat of idol-worship which King Kaikhosru destroyed. That seat was a seat of strange falsehood (shakaft drujih.)

5. After destroying idol-worship from there, Kaikhosru founded the great Fire-temple of Adar-Gushasp.

6. The formation of the lake was due to some extraordinary phenomenon of Nature. The phenomenon was accompanied by high wind and lasted for three days. That great convulsion of nature led to the formation of three great seas and twenty-three small seas. Two big lakes were formed, one of which was this Chaêchasta.

7. It is 50 farsangs (about 150 to 200 miles) distant from lake Husrava, another big lake formed by the above-mentioned convulsion of nature.

8. It is situated in Âtarôpâtakân (Âzerbaijân.)

9. Its waters are (*a*) deep (*b*) medicinal, free (or giving freedom) from injury *i.e.*, possessing some medicinal qualities, (*c*) permitting no animal life (*d*) and are connected by some subterranean channels with a great sea.

Now let us see, with what modern place this lake Chaêchasta can be identified.

(3) Identity of Chaêchasta with Lake Urumiâh.

Chaêchasta, the same as modern Lake Urumiâh.

There are several evidences to show, that the Lake Chaêchasta of the Avesta and Pahlavi books is the same as the modern Lake Urumiâh. The evidences are the following :—

(1) Etymological evidence.

2) Evidence of Physical nature.

(3) Direct Evidence from a known Mahomedan author.

1. Etymological Evidence.

I have, ere now, referred to this evidence in some of my previous writings. I have first referred to it in my Gujerâti Prize Essay on અવસ્તા જમાનાની ભૂગોળ (The Geography of Avestaic times), submitted on 1st September 1884.[1]

In Aban, Gosh and Ashi Yashts,[2] Lake Chaêchasta, is spoken of, as deep and with wide expanse of water (jafra urvyâpa). Of the word *urvyâpa* (𐬉𐬭𐬯𐬌𐬀𐬨), the first part *uru* is the same as *uru* in Urumiâh. Uru (𐬉𐬭) Sans. उरु means wide. The second part *ap* (𐬀𐬨) Sans. अप (lat. aqua, P. آب) is water. The second part *maya* in Urumiâh is Semetic (𐡌𐡉 in Pahlavi, مو ma in Arabic) for water. In the Pahlavi Bundehesh, while speaking of the water of Lake Chaêchasta, this very word "maya" is used.[3] The word *urvyâpa* (in some mss. urvâpa) means wide or broad-watered. The later modern word "Urumiâh" is an exact rendering of the Avesta word urvyâpa, which is an adjectival epithet of Chaêchasta. What was, at first, a qualifying adjective, has, latterly become a proper noun.

We have several instances of this kind *i. e.* of adjectives becoming proper nouns: (*a*) The first instance is not in the case of a place, but in that of a person. Khusro Kobâd (Chosroes I) had the word Anousheravân (afterwards contracted to Nousheravân), *i.e.*, immortal-souled, applied to him as an adjectival epithet. But, among later Iranian writers, the word Nousheravân has become a proper noun and this king is spoken of generally as Nousheravân.

(*b*) In another name of this very lake, we seem to have another instance of an epithet of the lake giving the name to the lake itself. Maçoudi says of Lake Urumiâh: "It is situated

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1 *Vide* my "અવસ્તા જમાનાની ઘર સંસારી જીંદગી ભૂગોળ અને એકરાર નામું." (The Social Life, Geography and Articles of Faith of the Avestaic times), p. 175. *Vide* my "Glimpse into the History and Work of the Zarthoshti Din ni khol karnâri Mandli (1922), p. 44, for my paper on the subject before that Society in 1886. *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestaic Proper names (1892), word Chaêchasta, p. 77.

2 Yt. V, 49; Yt. IX, 18, 21; Yt. XVII, 38, 42.

3 Chap. XXII 2, Justi's Bundehesh, p. 55, l. 11. *Vide* three pages above for the passage quoted.

between the towns of Ourmiah and Méragh, and receives in the country the name of Keboudân (کبودان).[1] Prof. Jackson says: "The early Greek Geographer Strabo mentions it under the name of Spauta (written σπαύτα in the Mss.) which is supposed to be an error for Kapauta, the Persian Kabûda, lit. 'blue, cerulean'; but since my return to America I heard two natives of Urumiâh apply the name 'Spaut' to the lake, although I did not hear it so called while I was in Âzerbaijân .....The attribute 'cerulean' is more probably due to the color of the water, which presents a succession of blues melting into purples, mingled with ultramarine and green hues which were all the more conspicuous against a background of snowy mountains and a shore whitened with crystals of salt due to the incrustation of saline deposits."[2] So, just as the blue colour (kaboud کبود) of the water of the lake gave to the lake one of its names (Kaboudân), so the broad expanse of its water (urvyâpa), gave it another name, *viz.*, Urumiâh, in which *maya* is the Semetic word for *ap*, *i.e.* ,water.

The word urvâpa or urvyâpa is variously translated. Spiegel[3] translates it as "rich in water"; Harlez as "broad-watered" (aux eaux...larges)[4]. Darmesteter[5] as "of salt waters"; Jackson[6] as "whose water is salt;" Justi[7] as "breitfluthig, *i.e.*, broad-flooded; Tehmuras Anklesaria[8] as wide-watered (ઓહલા પાણીવાલી); Kanga[9] as wide watered (ઓહળાં પાણીવાળા). Darmesteter has given a note over the word in his Études Iraniennes (II. pp. 179-80), wherein he suggests the signification of salt waters (aux eaux salées). But, even in the midst of all these significations, the philological evidence stands.

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1 Maçoudi, par Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Vol. I, p. 97.

2 Jackson's Persia, Past and Present, p. 74.

3 Bleeck's Translation of Spiegel, Khordeh Avesta, p. 36, Aban Yasht, 49.

4 Avesta, p. 419.

5 S. B. E. ,Vol. XXIII, p. 66.

6 Persia, Past and Present, p. 73.

7 Handbuck der Zendsprache, p. 68.

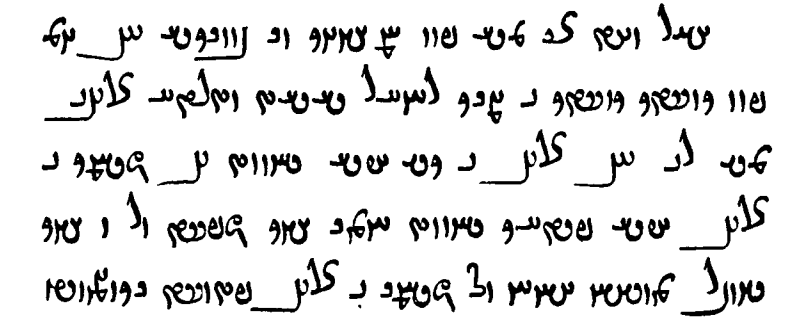
8 Ardviçura Yasht (અર્દ્વીસૂર યશ્ત), p. 43 (7).

9 Khordeh Avesta, 10th ed. (1926), p. 259. Gosh Yâsht, 21.

2. Physical Nature.

There are several physical characteristics, attributed to the formation of both, the Chaêchasta and the Urumiâh, which point to their being one and the same.

(*a*) The Pahlavi Bundehesh speaks of the formation of Lake Chaêchasta as the result of a great extraordinary natural phenomenon in connection with water. It speaks of this phenomenon in its chapter (Chap. VII, 14) on "The Conflict with Water (Ardab levatman maya)." It speaks, at first, of a great storm which raged for 10 nights and days and then we read :[1]



Translation.—In the end, the wind kept back the water in the same way upto the end of the third day in different directions of land ; and three great seas and twenty-three small seas arose from this (and) two reservoirs (chashma) of sea appeared out of this—one, the Lake Chaêchasta, and one, Sovbar (or Soubar), the sources of which are connected with the reservoir of the (great) sea.[2]

Now the formation of large salt lakes like the great Lakes Caspian, Urumiâh and Van, and other small lakes in, and in the vicinity of, Âzerbaijân are held by physical geographers to be the result of a great natural phenomenon.

(*b*) The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht speaks of the waters of Lake Chaêchasta as medicinal and free from evils, *i.e.*, disease (dar-

[1] Justi's Bundehesh, p. 17, ll. 16-18.

[2] *Vide* my Bundehesh in Gujarâti for the transliteration and translation of the passage, pp. 30-31.

man [1] av i javid shaedâa (𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬌 𐬌𐬯 𐬌𐬌 𐬛 𐬀𐬌 𐬨𐬀𐬢𐬀𐬌)[2]. While travelling in Âzerbaijân from Tabriz to Urumiâh, in October 1925. I heard,that people, even now, resort to the shores of the lake for medicinal baths.

There is a similar reference to the waters of the Chaêchasta in the 22nd Chapter (s. 2) of the Bundehesh. There, the words, as given by Justi, are 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬨 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬑 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬌𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬨 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬑 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬌𐬌 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬨 𐬨𐬀𐬌𐬯𐬀𐬑 𐬯𐬀𐬌𐬯 𐬌𐬌 (garm maya javît bîsh âigh mandavamîch jânvar dayan la yehvunet) [3] Here, the first word is 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬨 instead of 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬨𐬀 of the Bahman Yasht, and so, I, like Dr. West,[4] have read the word as *garm* and translated it as *warm* (water). I think that here also the word may be *darman* (P. درمان, remedy, medicine). The waters of a large lake like the Chaêchasta may not be hot.

With reference to what the Pahlavi books say of the waters, as being *javit-bish* or free from disease, *i.e.*, "having some medicinal properties," let us note here, what Morrier says of the waters of the Urumiâh, of which he speaks as "the lake of Shahee."[5] He says: "Shahee, we hear, is inhabited, and contains twelve villages, the inhabitants of which are said to be strangers to the small-pox, and live to a good old age without the dread of it" [6]

(c) The Bundehesh, in the passage, quoted just above (Chap. XXII, 2), says of the waters of Lake Chaêchasta that they are such "in which no living thing can live." (mandavamich jânvar dayan lâ yehvunet). This is true of Lake Urumiâh. Yaqout says of the water of Urumiâh, that they are "bitter and fetid and have no fish or living animals". Barbier de Meynard thus

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1 P. درمان remedy.

2 Dastur Kaikobad's Zand-i Vohuman Yasht, p. 14, l. 9.

3 I have quoted and translated the passage in full in the preceding section (s. IX),

4 S. B. E., Vol. V, p. 85.

5 Morrier's Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor (1812), Vol. II, p. 287.

6 *Ibid*, pp. 288-89.

renders the passage: "Son eau est amêre et fétide; elle ne renferme ni poissons, ni aucune être vivant." [1] Ibn Haukal also says that it "contains not any living creature." [2] Maçoudi also, while speaking of the Dead Sea, refers to this fact. He says: "They say that here is not in the world any other lake, which contains neither fish nor, generally, any other living being, except the one of which we speak and another lake in Aderbaidgan on which I have sailed".[3]

Thus, we see that all the physical characteristics or qualities of Lake Chaêchasta, referred to in the Pahlavi books, are common with what we read and know of Lake Urumiâh. So, this fact also points to Chaêchasta being the same as Urumiâh.

The following statement of a recent writer on Urumiâh points to two of the facts, mentioned above, about the lake, *viz.*, that (*a*) it is wide-watered or extensive and (*b*) that there is very little or almost no animal life in it. We read in the article on Urumiâh in the Encyclopædia Britannica: [4] "According to an old tradition, Urmia was the birth-place of Zoroaster." Then the writer, speaking of the lake of that name near it, gives the following particulars: It is about "5000 ft. above sea-level. It is 90 miles long north and south, 30 miles broad, and 250 round, with a total area of 1600 square miles, but a mean depth of not more than 10 or 12 feet (45 in deepest part sounded by Monteith).....There are as many as fifty-six islands.....the largest 5 miles by 2.....The lake is intensely saline more so even than the Dead Sea, and is consequently inhabited by no fish or other aquatic fauna, except a peculiar species of small crustacean, which affords abundant food to numerous swans and other wild-fowl." Another writer of the same work, writing on Âzerbaijân, speaks of this lake, which is in this province, as "the supposed birth-place of Zoroaster." [5]

There is one statement in the above passage, which, at first thought, seems to confound us. It is, that when the Avesta speaks of it as jafra (يرفژ P. ژفر) deep, in fact, it is not so. This can be explained by saying, that the lake may be

[1] Barbier de Meynard's Dictionaire Géographique, &c., p. 85.

[2] Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal (1800), p. 162.

[3] I translate from the French of Barbier de Meynard's Maçoudi, Vol. I, p. 97.

[4] 9th Edition, Vol. XXIV, p. 12, col. 2.

[5] *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 168, col. 1.

deep in olden times, but now, by constant evaporation, not sufficiently balanced by the inflow of fresh water, it has become shallow. The writer of the above article says: "The whole lacustrine basin, including the furthest sources of its influents, has an area of about 20000 square miles, and the flooded part stood formerly at a much higher level than at present, as is shown by the water marks on the encircling heights, and by the Shahi peninsula in the north-east, which at one time was certainly an island."[1] If this explanation is not acceptable, may I suggest another? We may take the word jafra (P. ژفر) in the sense of "high." The modern Persian zafra has, besides the meaning of "deep" also that of high[2], and we know that the lake is about 5,000 ft. above the sea-level.

3. Later Mahomedan writers.

A known later Mahomedan writer distinctly identifies Chaêchasta with Urumiâh. Hamd-Allah Mustawfi in the Geographical part of his Nuzhat-al-Qulub, written in 1340 A.C., in his section on the "Account of the Lakes in Iran" (ذکر بحیرات کہ در ایران و حوالی آن است)[3] speaks of this lake under the head Chaêchast (چیچست)[4]. This very fact of his using the older Iranian name for this lake proves the identity. He thus describes the lake:

بحیرهٔ چیچست بولایت آذربایجان آنرا دریای شور گویند بلاد ارمیه و اشنویه و ده خوارقان و طروج و سلماس بر ساحل او است و درمیانش جزیره و بر آنجا کوهی است کہ مدفن پادشاهان مغول است آبهای تغتو و جغتو و صافی و سراو رود در او میریزد دورش چهل و چهار فرسنگ باشد

Translation.—The Lake Chaichast (is) in the country of Âzarbâizân. They speak of it as a salt sea. The cities Urmiah

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1 Vol. XXIV, p. 12, col. 2.

2 *Vide* ژفر in Steingass.

3 The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-Al-Qulub composed by Hamd Allâh Mustawfi of Qazwin in 740 (1340), edited by G. Le Strange (1915), p. 240, l. 11. *Vide* G. L. Strange's Translation (1919), p. 232.

4 *Ibid*, Text, p. 241, l. 3. Translation, p. 233.

and Ushnuyeh and the villages of Khvârqan and Taruj and Salmâs are on its shores. There is an island in its midst and on that place is a mountain which is the place of the burial of the kings of the Moguls. The waters of Taghtu and Jaghtu and Sâfi and the river Sarâv pour into it. Its circumference may be forty-four farsangs.

This passage of Mustawfi is significant. It places the modern city of Urmiah on the shore of this Chaêchasta. Again, the name of the city of Ashnuyeh (اشنویہ) seems to me to be closely associated with Asnavant, the mountain in the precincts of which Zoroaster had his revelation, as seen above.

Hamd-Allah Mustawfi speaks of the tombs of Moguls on lake Chaêchasta. We know that, lake Urumiâh is, at times spoken of as Shâhi lake. At least, a portion of it is, even now, known as Shâhi. Prof. Jackson says:[1] "As for the modern name of the lake, the natives generally term it Dariah-i Shahi, or 'Royal sea' after the mountain peninsula of Shahi or Shah Kuh". As to this Shah Kuh, Prof. Jackson says:[2] "A few small islands.....the surface of the lake toward the south-central part and from the middle of the eastern shore of the mountain peninsula of Shahi or Shah-kuh juts out. This tongue of land was once an island twenty-five miles in circumference, but it has become a part of the mainland, because the lake has lowered somewhat." It appears that the island is now spoken of as Shahi or royal, because, as said by Hamdala Mustawfi, there lived and died on it, some Mongol or Mogul kings.[3]

XIII.

(H) URUMIÂH. IN WHAT PART OF URUMIÂH WAS THE HOME OF ZOROASTER SITUATED? IN ÂMVI.

Now, having determined that the home of Zoroaster was in Urumiâh, there remains for us the last step or the last question: In what part of Urumiâh was that home? To answer that

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1 Persia, Past and Present, pp. 37-74.

2 *Ibid* p. 73.

3 These Mongol rulers ruled in this part of the country in the 12th and 13th centuries. The ruling dynasties of this land, after the (1) Peshdadians, (2) Kayanians, and (3) Achaemenians were (4) the Macedonian Greeks of Alexander the Great (356-323) and his successors up to B. C. 250; (5) the Parthians (250 B. C.—226 A.C.); (6) the

question, there comes to our help a Pahlavi treatise. I will now speak of that treatise and see, what is its reply to the question and what name it gives us as that of the town which was the home of Zoroaster.

The Pahlavi Shatroihâ-i Airân.

The Pahlavi Treatise is named Shatroihâ-i Airân. It helps us, not only to determine that Zoroaster belonged to Âzerbaijân, but also to determine which particular town or village in Âzerbaijân was the birth-place of Zoroaster. I had the pleasure of translating this treatise in English for the first time in 1899. Before publishing it, I had the pleasure of reading, in January 1898 and March 1899, two papers before the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, based on this treatise.[1] I will quote here, what I have said in the first of these two papers about this Pahlavi treatise. "Shatroiha-i Iran or Cities of Iran is the name of an old Pahlavi treatise lately published for the first time, with some other Pahlavi treatises by the late lamented Dastur Dr. Jamapji Minocherji. The book purports to give the names of the founders of some of the known cities of Western and Central Asia that had, at one time or another, passed into the hands of the ancient Persians." I like to repeat here, what I have said about my work of reading and translating this treatise, in my Gujârati preface of the book :

"સઘળાં વિષયોમાં હું એ વિષયને ઘણી અગત આપું છું. આજ સુધી પ્રગટ કરેલાં મારાં સઘળાં પુસ્તકોમાં આ પુસ્તકને હું ઘણું વજન આપું છું" As said herein, of all my publications, published upto that time (1899), I attach great importance to the book in which the translation of this treatise was published. Out of the three treatises comprised in this book,[2] I attach a higher value than others to this particular treatise.

Sassanians (226 A.C.—651). Then "a succession of longer or shorter-lived dynasties, like (7) the Ommiads (A.D. 661-749; (8) Abbasids (749-847); (9) Ghaznavids (961-1186); (10) Seljuks (about 1030-1200); (11) the Mongols under Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227) and under his grandson Hulagu (d. 1265), who maintained his court at Maraghah" (Jackson's Persia, p. 27.)

[1] These papers are entitled (1) "The Cities of Iran, as described in the old Pahlavi treatise of Shatroihâ-i Airân" and (2) "The Etymology of a few towns of Central and Western Asia, as given by Eastern Writers." These Papers are published in my Aiyâdgâr-i-zariân, Shatroihâ-i Airân and Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Sistân (Pahlavi Translations Part I).

[2] I may say here, that, at the time of the first selection of a scholar for the Sir James Campbell Medal, the late Mr. Jackson had included this work in his first selection of the 10 best books, from the authors of which one had to be selected for the medal.

As I have pointed out in my first paper on the subject before the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, this treatise was written at the end of the 8th century or in the ninth century. The treatise speaks of 111 cities which, with few exceptions, are grouped in large divisions. Many of the divisions are separated by the common use of the words "In the Direction of" (pavan kostê).

In the division beginning with similar words پوان کشتی اتروپاتکان (pavan kostê Âtarôpâtakân) *i.e.* "in the direction of Âtarópâtakân," two cities are named as Ganjak and Âmui.

I will first speak of the city of Ganjak or Ganjah (گنزک) referred to here, as the mention of this town is important in connection with the question of Âzerbaijân's connection with the Zoroastrian reverence for fire: This city of Ganjak is spoken of by some as Gazn. گزن or Jazn جزن. It is the city also known as Schiz (شیز). We read in Yaqout: "Shiz—District of Azerbaidgân of which Moghaïrah ben Schâbah took possession by capitulation. Its real name in Persian is *Djezn* (جزن) or *Guezn*, of which the Arabs have made *Schiz*. They believe that it is the country of Zeraduscht (Zoroastre), the prophet of the adorators of fire. The chief place of this district is Ourmiah."[1] Then Yaquot, quoting Móçer says "One observes also at Schiz a temple of fire which is for the inhabitants the object of great veneration. It feeds all the sacred fire-hearths of the Guebres of the East and the West. The dome is surmounted by a crescent of silver, considered as a talisman which several princes have tried in vain to pull away from its base. What is remarkable of this place is that the fire kindled since 700 years, leaves no ashes and is never extinguished."[2]

Ganjak.

Yaquot, on the authority of his same predecessor, Moçer, connects with this town, in a somewhat varied or different form, the story of the Persian Magi going to see the infant Christ at Jerusalem. He speaks[3] of a king Hormuz building a temple for this fire. He adds that, on hearing of the birth of the

[1] I give my translation from the French of Barbier de Meynard' Dictionaire Géographique de la Perse p. 367.

[2] *Ibid* p. 368.

[3] *Ibid* p. 369.

infant (Jesus) at Jerusalem, in a village named Betlehem, this king sent to him a messenger with perfumes, oil and milk. Yaqout adds, that the messenger was given on his return a sackful of some sacred earth by Mary. The messenger, on his return journey, on coming to the place where Schiz stood, died.[1] King, Hormuz, on hearing of this event, sent a person to find out the place where the messenger died and to erect a fire-temple there. The messenger could not trace the place, but there appeared at once from the ground a flame. He took that as the place of the death of the messenger, and built there on the Fire-temple, known latterly as the Fire-temple of Schiz.

Yaqout says on the authority of another writer, that it was at this Shiz, that "one finds Nâr-dirakhsch (نار درخش) a Fire-temple much celebrated among the Magis and which the kings of Persia, at the time of their accession to the throne, came to visit, on foot. The people of Meraghah call this district Guezn (گزن) "[3] We thus see, that the city, known as Shiz, is the city of Ganjah spoken of in the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan as Ganjak.

We have a very interesting and valuable paper of Henry Rawlinson, entitled, "Memoir on the site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana," in the Journal of the Geographical Society of England (Vol. X, pp. 65-158), wherein the author connects this Ganjah or Shiz with the mountain in Âzerbaijân, now known as Takht-i Suleiman. He identifies Shiz with the Cauzaca of the Greeks. This Greek name much resembles our Pahlavi name Ganjeh. The same form of letter can be read as "k",

[1] This story explains, why the Christians of Urumiâh claim their Church of Mat Mariam in the city to contain a tomb of one of the Magi. I had the pleasure of seeing this church, on 7th October 1925, during my visit of Urumiâh. The Bishop, Bishop Marlia, had kindly arranged to show me the church which was being repaired. According to this Bishop, Malcoi, Bagdasor, and Caspar were the three Magi who had gone to Jerusalem. Out of these three, Caspar was buried there.

[2] This story is a kind of version of the Iranian story, in which there appeared a sudden flash of light, when Kaikhosru was attacking a certain place in the neighbourhood. Kaikhosru put up the fire of the flame in a temple, latterly known as the temple of the sacred fire of Adar Gushâsp. Compare with this version the statement of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, that Âtarôpâtakân was founded by Airân Goushâsp.

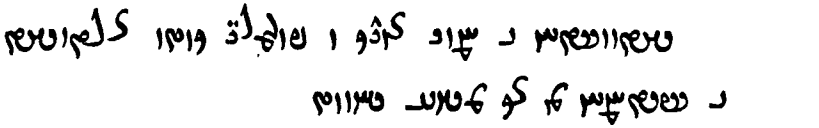
[3] Yaqout's "Dictionnaire Géographique, &c." par Barbier de Meynard, pp. 369-70. Barbier de Meynard adds in a foot-note that Athar-el-Bilad, giving the same passage, gives the name of the temple as Azereksch. The word nar نار in Arabic means fire. So, in the name Nârdirekhsh, we see an Arabic form of Azarekhsch.

and "g"[1]. He has tried to show on the authority of Moçer, the Arab writer quoted by Yaqout, of Zakariyâ and of others, that the Fire-temple of Shiz or Ganzaca or Ganjah is ascribed to Zoroaster.

I have entered into a rather long account about Ganjeh, the town of Âtarôpâtakân referred to by the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i-Airan, because it helps our consideration of the question of the next city named in the treatise after Ganjeh. Both these cities of Âtarôpâtakân are associated with the name of Zoroaster. The Pahlavi treatise associates the second town, *viz.*, Âmui or Âmvi, directly with the name of Zoroaster. We will now consider the statement about this town.

Âmui.

In the description given by this treatise of the second city Âmui (I pronounce the name as I first read it), we read as follows :[2]



Transliteration.—Shatrôstân-i Âmûi zandak-i pûr marg kard va Zartûsht-i Spitâmân min zak madinâ yehvûnt.

Translation.—The city of Âmui was founded by the sorcerer who is full of destruction (*i.e.*, Ahriman), and Zartusht of Spitama was of that city.

Now, in this Pahlavi treatise, the phraseology for the foundation of all the cities is well-nigh the same as that given in the above quoted section. It is "Shatrôstân-i.....kard." In the intervening gap, the name of the city and the name of the founder are mentioned and here and there some interesting facts about the city or the founder are mentioned in brief. As founders of the cities, we find mostly the names of the ancient kings and other worthies of Iran. But, in the case of this city of Âmui in Âtarópâtakân or Âzarbaizân, the founder mentioned is not any king or great personage but "zandak-i purmarg."

[1] I have referred to Rawlinson's paper in my Gujarâti paper, on the "History of the Fire temple of Azar Goushâsp." *Vide* my ઈરાની વિષયો ભાગ ૧ (Iranian Essays. Part I.)

[2] The Pahlavi Texts, edited by the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocherji Jamasp-Asana, with an Introduction by Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria (1903) p. 24, s. 59. *Vide* My "Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân Shatrôihâ-i-Airân va Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Seistan, pp. 116-117.

Now what is this word *zandak*. In the Vendidâd (Chap. XVIII, 55, 59), there is an allegorical conversation between the Yazata Sraosha, and the Druj, representing the Evil power. The Druj says that four kinds of persons make her pregnant, *i.e.*, lead to the increase of her power. The fourth of such wrong-doing persons is one, who goes about without being properly initiated into the religious fold. Such a man is compared to "zanda yâtumenta." Here, the word yâtumenta is clear. It means "magician" (from *yâtu* Sans. यातु Pers. جادو). But the word Zanda is differently translated. Spiegel has translated the word as "a slayer."[1] Harlez[2] does not translate the word. He gives the rendering of both the words as "les Zands sectateurs des Yâtus." Haug[3] translates the word as "spells." Darmesteter[4] does not translate the word but uses the same word in his translation (the Yâtus and Zandas), but says in the foot-note: "the zanda is a hobgoblin." In his later translation[5] also, he does not translate the word but says in a foot-note: "Zanda apôtre d'Ahriman," *i.e.*, zanda, apostle of Ahriman. Kanga[6] translates it as ભયંકર, *i.e.*, terrible.

The Zandak.

The word occurs also in the Yaçna (Ha LXI 3.):

There also, it is variously translated:

Spiegel[7] translates it as "wizard". Harlez uses the same word (Zands et les Yatus) [8]. Darmesteter[9] renders the word as "Magie" (la Magie et les magiciens). Then, in a long note (n. 8), he seems to connect the word with the later sect of the "zendiks," of whom the Yazidis are the "modern specimens."

Thus we see, that though the translators differ, it is clear, that the word "zand" is used in the sense of a bad person.

1 Bleek's translation, p. 132 (121).

2 Avesta, p. 186.

3 Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., 249.

4 S. B. E., Vol. IV, 1st ed., p. 199.

5 Zend Avesta, Tome. II, p. 251.

6 Vendidâd, 3rd ed., p. 295.

7 Bleek, Yaçna, p. 129. Spiegel's Chap. LX.

8 Avesta, p. 383, Chap. LX.

9 Le Zend Avesta. Vol. I, p. 384.

As to Pur-marg, the next word of the Pahlavi treatise, it is the

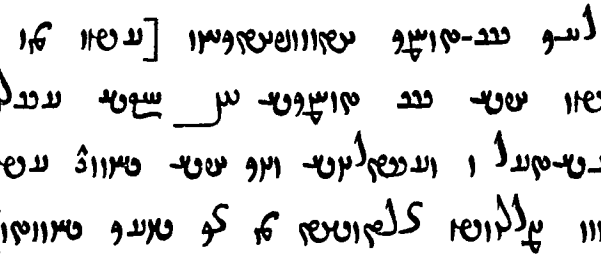
Pur-marg (Pouru-maharko).

Avesta Pouru-maharka ( ) *i.e.* "full of death, or one bringing death and destruction." It is often used with Ahriman *e.g.* in the Vendidâd (Chap. I, 3,5, 6, 7, 8 etc.)

Now why are other cities in the Pahlavi treatise associated with the names of some great kings and personages of Iran as founders, but not so, this city of Âmui which is spoken of as having been founded by Zendak-i Purmarg *i.e.* by Ahriman, or, if not by Ahriman, by some evil-minded person? The reason is suggested by the account of the birth and childhood of Zoroaster as given in Pahlavi books. We learn from these books that the surroundings of the parents of Zoroaster—the surroundings of the house of his mother's parents at Rai and those of the house of his father in Âzerbaijân—were of all those evil-minded persons, who had begun to harass Zoroaster's mother and father.

The Phraseology of the passage.

The phraseology of the above passage draws our special attention from the fact, that it is similar to that which we find in the Pahlavi Vendidâd, (I, 16) with respect to the city of Rae. We read there as follows:



Translation.—(Ahura Mazda says that the twelfth of the places erected by him was) Rak of the three classes in Âtarôpâtakân. There are some who call it Rai. It has three classes, three because good Açrun (Athornans), Artheshtâr

[1] The Ms. used by Dastur Hoshangji gives the name as such, but some Mss. give . *Vide* his Pahlavi Vendidâd, p. 15, and foot-note.

[2] One Ms. gives an additional word viz., paetâk, but this is a later addition.

(Rathaêshtâr) and Vactriyus are in that (place). There are some who say that Zarthust was of that place.[1]

Thus we see that, when in the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, the phraseology is "Min zak madinâ yehvunt," that in the Pahlavi Vendidâd is "Min zak zinâk yehvunt." In one, we have *madinâ* (the city), and in another, *zinâk* (the place).

Again, the fact that the Pahlavi translator has added the word Âtarôpâtakân in his translation, is significant. Rak was taken to be in Âtarôpâtakân.

Then the question naturally arises: Why is it that in the Pahlavi Vendidâd the town of Rak (otherwise called Rae) in Âtarópâtakân is spoken of as the place of Zoroaster, when in the Shatroiha-i-Airan, Âmui in Âtarópâtakân, is spoken of as such. The reply is given by what we read of Rai in the Arabic writing of Sharastâni. It says of (زرادشت) Zaradusht [2] بوه كان من

آذر بيجان وا مه من الرى واسمها دغدو

We saw above (s. XI.) that Dr. Theodor Haarbrücher has thus translated this sentence: "Sein Vater war von Adsarbaidschân, und seine Mutter, mit namem Dughdu, von Rai." [3] *i. e.* His father was from Âzerbaijân and his mother, with the name of Dughdu, from Rae.

Thus, we see, that Zoroaster is said to be of two places *viz.* (1) Âmui in Âzerbaijân according to the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, and (a) Rak (or Rae) in Âzerbaijân, according to the Pahlavi Vendidâd. He is thus associated with two places, because his father was of Âmui in Âzerbaijân and his mother of Rak in Âzerbaijân. In the phraseology of both these books—the Shatrôihâ-i-Airân and the Vendidâd—we find no word specially speaking of *birth*. They merely say, that Zoroaster was of such and such a place. But in the case of Âzerbaijân, we saw in our

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1 *Vide* for the text of the passage, Dastur Hoshangji's Vendidâd p. 15; Dastur Darabji's Pahl. Vendidâd, p. 8. Spiegel's Vendidâd p. 6, l. 1. For English transliteration and translation, vide the Vendidâd by Nowroji M. Kanga, p. 18. For Gujarâti transliteration and translation, Dastur Jamaspji's Vendidâd (p. 4 for the Text p. 6 for Translation). Haug's Essays, 2nd ed., p. 362.

2 The Text of Rev. William Cureton Ketab-ul-milal wa al-nahl. (1842) p. 185 l. 9 (Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects by Muhammad al Sharastâni, Part I.)

3 Abu'l-Fath Muhammad asch-Schahrastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophen Schulen, von Dr. Theodor Haarbrücher Erster Theil (1st Vol. 1850) p. 280.

lengthy examination of the Avesta and Pahlavi passages, that three of the writers associate the birth (zâto, temman zâd) of Zoroaster with Âtarôpâtakân.

Thus, with the help of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan, we have been able to advance a step further. Before that treatise came to light in 1897, we were only in a position to determine that Zoroaster was born in Âtarôpâtakân, but with its appearance, I pointed out for the first time in my paper, read before the B. B. R. Asiatic Society on 26th January 1898, that we were in a position to fix the town of Zoroaster's birth. I said at that time in my above paper—: "Âmui.—There is one thing mentioned by our text about this town which draws our special attention, because it is mentioned here for the first time and not mentioned in any other book. It is this: that Zoroaster was of this city (Zartusht-i Spitâmân min zak madinâ yehvunt). Âmui is nowhere else mentioned in connection with Zoroaster. Then the question is in which part of Iran are we to look for this town as the city of Zoroaster ?" I proceeded at that time to answer the question, but I find now, that I was on the wrong track. It had been a dream of my life to visit Persia. I had thought of including Âzerbaijân in that visit, and of going there from the Tehran side. Now, thanks to God, my dream has been realized. I beg to submit that my dream is more than realized, because I think my visit of Âzerbaijân last year has enabled me to identify a particular village as the Âmui of the Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan. I will speak of this visit in the next section.

XIV

A VISIT OF THE VILLAGE OF ÂMVI.

I paid a visit to Persia on my way back to India. I went to Persia from Russia, where I had been kindly invited as a guest by the Russian Academy of Sciences which celebrated its bicentenary in September 1925. The Russian Government had kindly given me all facilities to cross over to Persia. I first visited Baku and Derbend in Russian Âzerbaijân and then entered Persian Âzerbaijân *via* Tiflis and Julfa. I first stayed for a few days at Tabriz and from there went to Urumiâh.

Leaving Tabriz on the 5th of October 1925, and staying for the night on the way at Tasuch, I arrived at Urumiâh on the night of the 6th and stayed with the Governor of the district Haji Alikhan Bahadur. I beg to take here a note of my sincere

gratitude to the Hâkim Saheb for the very kind hospitality I had at his hands.

The next morning, my first question of inquiry to the Hâkim was whether there was in the vicinity any town or village of the name of Âmui which, as said above in the preceding section, was mentioned in the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Irân as the place of Zoroaster. The Hâkim Saheb said, he knew of no place there known as Âmui. However, he said, he would make inquiries. He kindly did so, and then said, that there was no place known as Âmui, but there was one known as Âmvi. I was extremely pleased to learn this, because I at once thought, that the same word in Pahlavi and in Persian, can be read either as Âmui or Âmvi. So, I expressed a desire to go and see the village which I was told, was at a distance of about 12 miles. As there was no road, it was difficult to go there. But the Hâkim kindly arranged for my visit. He himself had never seen the place. He accompanied me. Had he not kindly done so, I would have been obliged to return disappointed, because there was no proper road, even for a cart. As he said, I was the first to take the motor there and it took the motor six hours to pass over the distance of about 12 miles. The way was, at a number of places, cut off by *ab-jûis* or water-courses, and the motor, more than once, stuck into the mud of these water-courses, taking, at one place, about an hour and a half to extricate it. At one place, the water was given another channel by filling up the former channel with stones collected on the spot, and then even, all attempts to extricate the motor failed. Fortunately there came in a Kurdish villager and the Governor sent one of his two attendants on his horse to an adjoining village. A few villagers came in with their shovels and spades and extricated the motor.

We arrived at the village of Âmvi at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It is, at present, a small village of about 25 Kurdish families. Except the tradition—and that even not generally known to all the villagers—that Zardusht was of that district, there was nothing special to point out to us, that the statement of the Pahlavi Shatrôihâ-i-Iran, *viz.*, that Âmvi was the place

of Zoroaster, may possibly apply to this place. But there was one ruin which was pointed out to me from a distance, which undoubtedly showed that it was at one time a Zoroastrian town. That was the ruin of a Gaor-tapah گور تپه. The word Gaor is another form of gabr[1] (گبر). So, Gaur-tapah would mean the Hill of the Gabrs."[2]

The village is situated on a beautiful site. The mountain, situated at some distance behind, was covered with snow. There ran in the vicinity a beautiful small river which the people named Rûd-khâneh-i Tâlin رود خانه طالین. This is the present Kurdish name of the river. We saw in the preceding sections that the river with which the abode of Zoroaster is associated in the Avesta is Darêja an affluent of the Dâitîk. If this village of Âmvi is really the place of Zoroaster—as I think it to be—referred to in the Pahlavi Shatrôiha-i-Iran it is difficult to identify Darêja with Tâlin, after the long lapse of time especially because Geographical names often change in many parts of Asia. On approaching the town, for more than a mile, we see, here and there, land covered with loose stones suggesting the ruins of a great town. The Raîs of the village, who had fortunately happened to come to Urumiâh and who had accompanied us, told me that there was a tradition prevalent there that, at one time, the village was a great town.

XV

ÂMUI ON A SASSANIAN COIN.

Amui on a Sassanian coin.

I will conclude this paper with a brief Note on a matter, to which Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Kharèghat has kindly drawn my attention. It is this: The Sassanian kings marked their coins with the names of the mints where they were coined. Full names of the mint-towns were not given, but only the initial letters. But in rare cases full names were given. Mordtmann has taken note of a coin with the mint name of AMIU ایمو.

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[1] *Vide* for an explanation of the word, my paper, entitled "An Avesta Amulet for contracting Friendship", read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay. (Journal Vol. V, No. 7, pp. 418–25. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 137–139).

[2] For these Gaor tappahs of Âzerbaijân *vide* my paper before the Anthropological Society of Bombay read at the Prince of Wales Museum on the 4th August 1926.

Vide Jackson's "Persia Past and Present", p. 91, for an account oft Gaur-tapah which he also names "ash-hills" (*Vide Ibid*, pp. 90–98).

It is a coin of the 5th year of Khusrau 7. It is the first coin in his list of the "Zwiter Typus". Mordtmann has not read the legend of the coin.[1]

Mr. J. De Morgan, in his article on the Sassanian Mints refers to this coin. He gives the letters as IUMA reading the name in the usual Pahlavi way from right to left.[2] He says:

"

IUMA UIMA.

Cet induice est cité par le Dr. Mordtmann qui n'en propose par de lecture, peut-être Amui اموی Amol sur l'Oxus."

This Âmui seems to be this town of Âmui near Urumiâh and not Amol on the Oxus.

Mr. Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck has referred to this coin in his "Sassanian Coins" (p. 136). This is a coin of the 5th year of the reign of Khusro I and the name of the mint town as suggested by De Morgan (op. cit.) is Âmui

Now seven other coins with the mint town letters have been found and that name is taken to be that of Amol in Tabaristan.[3] So, it seems that it is likely that the four letters AMIU or AMUI in the above single-known coin of Khusro I were specially intended to distinguish the mint name Âmui from the mint town name of Amol signified by the letter AM on other coins.

One may infer from this fact, that the coin may have been struck at the above village of Âmui or Amvi in Âzerbaijân which, though now a small Kurdish village, may have been, as it appears, from the surrounding debris of stones and as traditionally believed, at one time, a big town, a town with a royal mint.

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1 Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft for 1830. Vol. 34, p. 116, l. 17.

2 "Contribution a l' Atude des Ateliers monétaires sous la Dynastie des-Rois Sassanides de Perse (Revue Numismatique for 1913, p. 168, S. 8, No. 17).

3 "Sassanian Coins" by Paruck p. 135.

Of course, this fact, *viz.*, that there existed a mint in the town of Âmui or Amvi, if accepted, does not supply any further proof of this town Âmui being a place of Zoroaster, but it leads us to infer, that the town associated with the name of Zoroaster as his place or birth-town, had grown into importance, possibly, among other reasons, by the fact that it was associated with the life and teachings of Zoroaster.

An Expression of Gratitude.

I do not like to complete this paper without mentioning a few honoured names of persons who had helped me in my travels in Âzerbaijân. The Russian Academy of Sciences, which had kindly invited me, with more than hundred scholars from various countries of Europe, America and Asia, as its guest, at its bi-centenary celebrations, had, with its Government, besides making my visit of Russia itself interesting and instructive, helped me very much in my travels towards the frontiers of Persia. I beg to thank the Academy and the Government for all this help.

Then on coming to my fatherland of Iran, the Airyana (Vaeja) of my Zoroastrian Mazdayacnan ancestors, I was helped in my travels by all the Persian authorities. I beg to tender my humble tribute of respect and my most respectful gratitude to His Imperial Majesty the Shah of Persia, who was then, at the time of my entry into Persia, still the Prime Minister of Persia. At the request of Arbab Kaikhosru Shahrukh, to whom I tender my best thanks for all his kindness during my travels in Persia, His Majesty was pleased to direct that H. E. Mahomed Husein Khan, the Farman-deh of Âzerbaijân and Mirza Mahomed Khan, the Governor of Tabriz, may kindly give me all necessary help. I beg to tender my best thanks to these high officials. I also beg to thank Yavar Abdul Husein Khan Tabatabai, the *rais* of the city of Tabriz for the very kind hospitality of his house that he extended to me during my stay at Tabriz. H. E. the Farman-deh, in his turn gave me a general letter of Introduction to all Government officials on the way and a special letter upon the Hakim of Urumiâh, Haji Alikhan Bahadur who kindly gave me the hospitality of his house. I cannot sufficiently thank all these high officials for all the help they kindly gave to me. I note with pleasure, that all these favours were due to Arbab Kaikhosru Shahrukh, whom the Persian community of Iran is glad to see, taking a prominent part in the affairs of the uplift of Persia.

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